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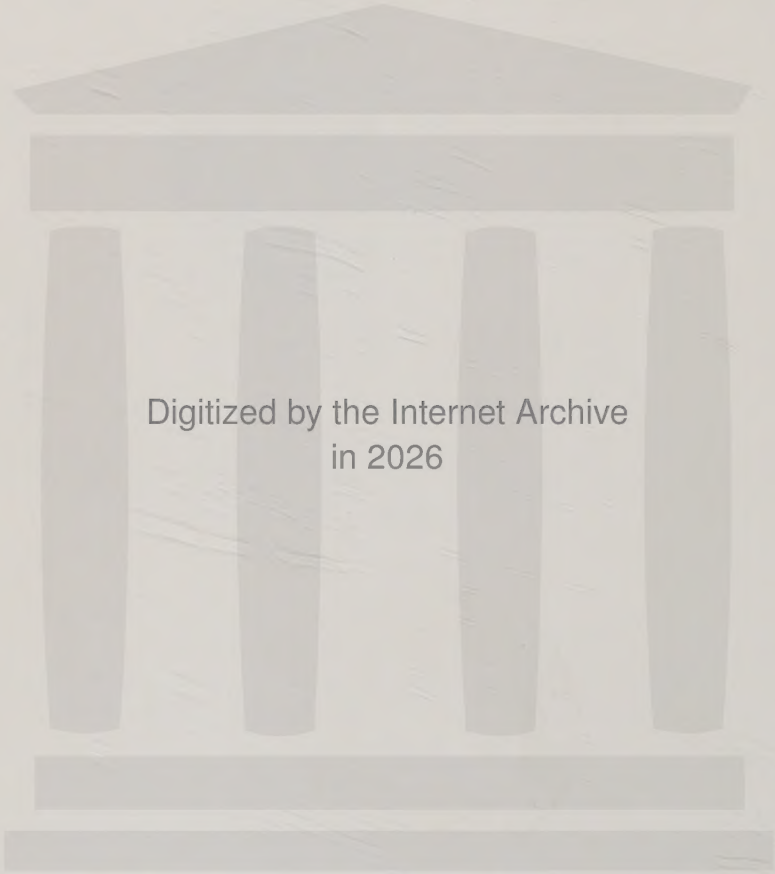
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THE LITURGICAL ELEMENT IN THE EARLIEST FORMS OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE ENGLISH AND GERMAN PLAYS

BY

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PREFACE

As indicated in the introduction below, the present author is by no means the first to point out liturgical *formulae* in the religious drama. He has merely gone somewhat farther in the application of the idea than has hitherto been attempted. It is also proper to acknowledge that liturgical tags may in many instances have found place in the religious drama by virtue of their having been transferred thither as part of epical or homiletic source material at a later stage than that of the dramatic office in the church service. There can be no question but that the liturgy also underlies a great portion of medieval religious literature and may therefore readily have been a part of secondary sources. During the preparation of this monograph, it was necessary to consult also epical and lyrical poetry of the Middle Ages to some extent, and it became evident with increasing clearness that these branches of literature were influenced largely by the liturgy of the church. In the German field the poem "Biblische geschichte von der Beschaffunge diser Welt bisz aufs jungst gericht gereymt," and in the English field "The Northern Passion," are cases in point.

There is also, no doubt, a certain reactive influence of secular upon religious literature. The English "Harrowing of Hell" is possibly an instance of this kind. If it were possible to discover more manuscripts of this particular work, the difficulty might be solved. Whether the contention advanced a few years ago that this play may have originated with the work of Cynewulf can ever be sustained by the discovery of sufficient evidence, is more than doubtful. In the case of the great body of plays, except those on apochryphal subjects and from apochryphal sources, the contention of the thesis seems to be borne out by the evidence presented even when due allowance is made for the post-liturgical introduction of liturgical materials.

The preparation of the monograph has been a delightful task, not only on account of the interesting material with which it is concerned, but especially on account of the help and inspiration of Professor Hardin Craig, who directed the progress of the work, and to whose unflagging interest and assistance the author freely acknowledges his indebtedness. To all others, also, members of the teaching staff of the University of Minnesota, as well as friends that have assisted with advice or interest, the author wishes to express his grateful appreciation.

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THE LITURGICAL ELEMENT IN THE EARLIEST FORMS OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA

INTRODUCTION

Considering the attractiveness of the subject, it is not surprising to find that a great many investigators in the field of the early drama have turned their attention to the Latin and early vernacular plays and have drawn conclusions of various kinds in regard to their sources and development. For the purpose of a brief but comprehensive survey of the entire field of the early medieval drama, the various writers may be divided into four groups, with the understanding, however, that the groups are not sharply defined, but to some extent overlap each other.

Ecclesiastical Writers

The first group includes early writers on ecclesiastical subjects, particularly on the division of the church year, on liturgical customs, the language and hymns of the Catholic Church, writers who formed a fairly correct estimate as to the connection of the liturgical plays with certain festivals. It is really remarkable how correct are many of the deductions of Alt (*Christlicher Cultus: Das Kirchenjahr*) (1846-52). Without in any way laying stress upon the circumstance, he recognizes the liturgical connection of the plays of Easter, Christmas, Ascension, Pentecost, Epiphany, and others, and offers a good deal of material in support of his casual observations. At almost the same time, Rock, in England (*The Church of Our Fathers*) gave a detailed description of some of the principal ceremonies connected with Christmas, Easter, Innocents' Day, The Boy Bishop, Palm Sunday, and others, facilitating the understanding of the structure of some of the liturgical plays connected with these festivals. About this time, also, (1850) Du Cange (*Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*) furnished brief definitions and descriptions of some of the customs in connection with the most important Church festivals during the Middle Ages. Du Meril, who was one of the first to publish liturgical plays (*Origines latines du Theâtre moderne*) (1849), made notes of the striking similarity between the plays and the liturgy, and gave invaluable hints to the investigator. In a similar manner, Gautier (*Origines du Theâtre moderne: Les Tropes*) has been of great service to modern research in the field by showing the origin and development of the trope. His conclusion is that the principal tropes for Christmas, the Feast of the Innocents, Epiphany,

Easter, The Ascension, Pentecost, and those to the Holy Virgin date from the ninth and early tenth centuries, those of the Purification, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity of Mary, and John the Baptist from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

General Studies

The second group includes such writers as have made a general study of the field of the early drama or of the mystery plays, with only incidental reference to probable Biblical or ecclesiastical sources. Hone (*Ancient Mysteries Described*) did not go beyond his caption. Ebert (*Die englischen Mysterien*) also confines himself to a description of the mystery plays. Wharton (*History of English Poetry*) speaks of the public pageants, but is more concerned about language and style than about probable sources. Scherer (*History of German Literature*, 1:239) says: "The starting-point of all these plays (mysteries), the origin of the Christian drama, is to be traced to the dramatic embellishment of the Church festivals." Wilcken (*Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*) treats the subject in much the same manner, also without going into details. The same is true of Klein (*Geschichte des Dramas*, 12 and 13). Petit de Julleville (*Les Mysteres*) bases his deductions on the investigations of Gautier and finds direct or indirect liturgical connection in the following plays: Easter, Christmas, Sponsus, Prophetae, Festum Asinorum, Herod, Rachel, Peregrini. He thinks (1:18 ff) that the Planctus is the basis of the Passion Plays. Symonds (*Shakspere's Predecessors in the English Drama*, 93) says of some of the liturgical plays: "The descent of the angel Gabriel at the Feast of Annunciation, the procession of the Magi at Epiphany, the birth of Christ at Christmas, the resurrection from the tomb at Eastertide, may be mentioned among the more obvious and common of these shows invented by the clergy to illustrate the chief events of Christian history." Hohlfeld (*Die englischen Kollektivmysterien*, *Anglia*, 11:219.245) writes as follows: "Den übereinstimmenden Grundstock der altenglischen Kollektivmysterien bilden mit einer einzigen, sich aber leicht erklärenden Ausnahme (Harrowing of Hell) nur solche Stoffe, die auf biblische Quellen zurückgehen. Diese bemerkenswerte Übereinstimmung beruht aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach durchaus nicht auf ursprünglicher gegenseitiger Beeinflussung unserer Kollektiven, als vielmehr darauf, dasz bei Abfassung derselben die umfangreichen kirchlichen Mysterien, welche sich im Anschlusz an die kirchlichen Festlichkeiten bei Gelegenheit der hohen Feste herausgebildet hatten, zu Grunde lagen." Ungemach (*Die Quellen der fünf ersten Chester Plays*, 7) writes in much the same strain: "Dasz die Verfasser der neuen in die Volkssprache übertragenen Mysterien die früheren liturgischen Bearbeitungen nicht unberücksichtigt lieszen, war

teils aus religiösen Rücksichten, teils aus praktischen Gründen geboten, und diese Annahme wird durch die zahlreichen in den Mysteriensammlungen vorhandenen lateinischen Zitate nur bestätigt . . . . . Alle ursprünglich in den Kollektivmysterien zusammengefaszten Stoffe mit Ausnahme von 'Harrowing of Hell' gehen auf die biblische Quelle zurück."

Other writers might be quoted as belonging to this group, notably Collier, who was a pioneer in the field; but those mentioned may be said to be fairly representative. They all acknowledge the influence of ecclesiastical sources and some of them even make use of the results of research, but they themselves make no special effort to determine the extent or the significance of ecclesiastical influence. There is another writer who occupies a somewhat unique position, although he may be said to belong to this group. D'Ancona (*Origini del Teatro italiano*) gives the origin of the medieval liturgical play as earlier investigators had represented it, but he claims a somewhat different means of development for Italy, namely the songs of the Flagellantes. His contention, however, as will be seen in the various divisions below, seems hardly to be borne out by the specimens of the early plays which he adduces himself.

Writers on Liturgical Sources

In the third group of writers we find a definite recognition of the liturgical element in certain plays on the basis of tropes and, to some extent, of homilies. The discovery of Sepet (*Les Prophetes du Christ*) (1867) that the liturgical Prophet plays are based upon the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Judaeos" was the most important one in the early days of specialized investigation. Milchsack (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*) began the study of the Easter plays in detail, and based the Quem quaeritis trope on the Vulgate. Lange (*Lateinische Osterfeiern*) (1887) took up the study of the Officium Sepulcri and published an indispensable monograph on the subject. His book contains a careful compilation of texts, both of the Quem quaeritis trope and of the liturgical plays based upon it, arranged in progressive series to show successive additions and expansions.

The result of the investigations of Sepet and Lange has been utilized by subsequent writers in the field in general. Some few scholars have made application of the same principles to other plays, while others have been content with adducing additional matter in corroboration of the theories which had been already set forth. Davidson (*Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 28, 31, 47, 162, 171) states his idea as follows: "I do not know that it would betoken any unaccountable originality if some priest, thoroughly familiar with the Gospel passages, and with the Victimae paschali with its introductory verses and response, should have borne all in mind while shaping the Easter drama . . . . How the

Resurrection cycle was joined to the Christmas cycle, and how the resulting cycle of Christ's life was, through the aid of the prophecies, extended back to the creation of the world, will be considered in the following chapters . . . . Little by little the plays that clustered about the two most touching festivals of the Church, the Crucifixion and the Birth of Christ, approached each other, and the whole antecedent Bible story, together with the doom of saint and sinner, fell naturally into place . . ." Miss Bates (*The English Religious Drama*, 1, 6) summarizes the conclusions of previous writers in a similar manner: "The romantic drama, born of the church and nourished by the church, came in time . . . . The Passion (Mystery) Play, in which the modern drama takes its rise, itself sprang from the liturgical service of the Roman Church . . . . Passion (Mystery) Plays extended back, filling the gap between the Easter play and the Christmas play, through the life of our Lord." Ten Brink, with his usual keen insight, one might almost say, foresight, sums up the situation as follows (*History of English Literature*, 2:234): "The cradle of the Medieval Drama was the Church. The Roman Catholic liturgy contained a multitude of germs for the formation of a drama and still contains them, though in a smaller degree than before: songs alternating between the priest and the congregation or the choir representing the congregation; recitative readings in appointed parts, as in the story of the Passion; plastic decorations and representations; solemn processions; mimic acting, of which the symbolism had sometimes a very realistic coloring; all these elements were thus present, and by their combination and mutual interblending a dramatic form must necessarily have been produced . . . . The recitative dialogue was based on the Biblical text or on the prescribed portions of the ritual." Weber (*Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*) attempts to show that the dramatic representation is the basis of the iconographic representation. Pollard (*English Miracle Plays*, xiii) says: "The dramatic representations which we . . . . describe are popular in their aim, liturgical in their origin, taking as their subjects events which belonged strictly either to sacred history or to accepted legends." Ward (*A History of English Dramatic Literature*, 1:19 f) shows that there is a dramatic nucleus in the liturgy, the pantomimic, the epical, and the lyrical element being present. He says that the Office of the Shepherds was performed on Christmas Day, others of the same kind, such as those of the Infants, the Star, the Sepulchre, being celebrated each in its season. Brandl (*Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*) and Körting (*Grundrisz der Geschichte der englischen Literatur*) offer secondary material only, and do not investigate sources. Meyer (*Fragmenta burana*) bases his remarks to a great extent on Gautier and on Sepet. The original of the lament of Rachel he finds in Matt. 2:18. He denies that the Beauvais Daniel and the Daniel of Hilary have any

connection with the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon, "Contra Judaeos," or its influence. Gayley (*Plays of Our Forefathers*, 3, 27) writes: The tragedy of early Christian civilization had its germ and spiritual effect in things religious . . . . The tragedy of the new era had its roots in the spring of Christian feeling: it breathed the air of Christian ritual . . . . The Latin (of the Officium Resurrectionis) is the Latin of the Gospels in the Vulgate . . . . The play of Adam is historically interesting because evidently an outgrowth of a processional representation of the Prophets, and as such a connecting link between the church sermon and the popular drama." Gregory Smith (*The Transition Period*, 237, 240) writes as follows: "Some critical difficulties beset us in the interpretation of the earlier stages of the European drama. There is the question of origin: whether the earliest plays are the direct outcome of the liturgical practice of the Church by a process of glossing and expansion, in both a literary and spectacular sense . . . . The drama starts from a strong liturgical basis, concerned chiefly with the central story of Eastertide and the ceremonial of the Sepulchre. In this first stage the germs of later change are present—forces which were ultimately to secularize the dramatic idea or, in other words, to transform the religious motif in whose behalf they had been called into action." Matthews (*A Study of the Drama*), Garnett and Gosse (*History of English Literature*), Cledat (*Literature Dramatique du Moyen Age*), and others present similar summaries. Hemingway (*The English Nativity Plays*, vii, 266 ff.) writing only on one phase of the subject, is dependent to some extent upon Sepet, when he writes: "The ultimate source of the drama is in symbolism. The central point of the Christmas play is the manger, or praesepe, erected in the churches at Christmastime . . . . After the introduction of Israel it was natural to include Abraham, Isaac, and soon even Adam and Eve. Thus from the sermon of Augustine developed all our Old Testament dramas . . . . Sepet's theory that all the Old Testament plays are merely outgrowths from the Prophet play is well illustrated by the Abraham plays in England." Kamann (*Die Quellen der York Plays*) and Falcke (*Die Quellen des sogenannten Ludus Coventriae*) confine themselves almost entirely to the tracing of Biblical and Apocryphal sources, and to patristic parallels. In the presentation of the writers of this group, there is, then, a peculiar uniformity as regards the results of earlier investigations.

The matter has been clarified in some measure by the publication of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, which, in turn, depends to a great extent upon the work of Creizenach and Chambers. Chambers (*The Medieval Stage*) made a very careful survey of the accumulated material and offered some conclusions of his own. His work will be referred to in the proper chapters. Creizenach (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*), of whose first edition Chambers makes quite extensive use, recognizes the

liturgical element in the plays of the Easter series, in the Pastores, Slaughter, Magi, Prophetae. He often makes no mention of the direct liturgical connection and refers to Biblical sources only. He regards the Prophetae as the source of the Old Testament plays. In regard to the Passion play he writes: "Ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied zwischen Passionsspielen und Osterspielen ist meiner Meinung nach nicht anzunehmen." These and other views will be referred to at the proper time. Cady (*The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries*) offers some material, principally in the form of tables, in support of the theory of Chambers of the liturgical basis of "the Birth, the Resurrection, and possibly the Passion plays." His researches extend only to the liturgical plays, and do not include the liturgy itself.

Recent Investigators

The fourth group includes principally investigators of the present time who have done and are doing work in determining the liturgical sources of the early medieval drama. The first of these is Nölle, whose distinction lies in this, that he furnished a complete and fairly exhaustive study of all the texts of the Fifteen Signs of Judgment (*Beiträge:* 6). While his work is principally historical research and textual criticism, it is nevertheless of great value in studying the liturgical connection of this particular eschatological subject. Reuschel (*Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*) has made a complete and exhaustive study of the German Doomsday plays. His tables and charts are arranged in a manner which makes their understanding easy. Anz (*Die lateinischen Magierspiele*) has made a very thorough study of the liturgical connections of the Epiphany play. Even with the discovery of new texts his work will retain its value. Professor Young is not only an indefatigable collector of plays, which he has edited with notes in various journals (*Publications of Modern Language Association, Modern Language Notes, Modern Philology, Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*), but he has also made investigations of special parts of the liturgical field. His "Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play" and his notes on "The Harrowing of Hell" serve as more than introductions to the respective subjects, while the articles, "Officium Pastorum" and "Origin of the Easter Plays," are so exhaustive as to represent, very likely, the last word in regard to these questions. Professor Craig, in his paper, "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays," in which he limited the conclusions of M. Sepet to the Prophetae and included many hints in regard to other plays, gave a new impetus to the investigations in regard to the liturgical influence in the earliest forms of the medieval drama.

So far as the editing of Latin and vernacular plays of this period of the drama is concerned, the following list contains the names of the prin-

cipal investigators: Du Meril (Origines du theâtre moderne, including Easter, Christmas, Rachel, Epiphany, Prophetae, Sponsus, and other plays), Coussemaker (Drames liturgiques du moyen Age), Gaste (Les drames liturgiques de la cathedrale de Rouen), Schmeller (Carmina burana), Meyer (Fragmenta burana), Milchsack, and shortly after him, Lange (Die lateinischen Osterfeiern), Cloetta (Sponsus), Anz (Die lateinischen Magierspiele), Young (Ordo Joseph, Easter, Christmas, and Magi Plays), Sharp (Digby Plays, Weavers' Play of Coventry), Furnivall (Digby Mysteries), Deimling (Chester Plays), Craig (Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays), Miss L. T. Smith (York Plays), Halliwell (Ludus Coventriae), Collier (Five Miracle Plays), Wright (Chester Plays), Pollard (Towneley Mysteries), Waterhouse (Non-Cycle Mystery Plays), Reuschel (Luzerner Antichrist), Wackernell (Passionsspiele aus Tirol), Froning (Frankfurter Passionsspiele, Schauspiele des Mittelalters), Luzarche (Adam: Drame anglonormand), Rothschild (Mistere du Viel Testament), Mone (Schauspiele des Mittelalters), and others.

Historical Summary

An examination of all the work done in the field of the early medieval drama up to the present time shows that the recognition of the liturgical element has been confined chiefly to three principal festivals of the church year: Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany. The development of the Easter plays, through the liturgical play of the Visitatio, from the nucleus of a trope, has been accepted for many years. The nucleus of the Shepherds' play, and beyond that, of the Officium Pastorum, has been found mainly in two tropes of Christmas. The play of Herod and the Three Wise Men, with its sequel, the Slaughter of the Innocents, has not been traced so fully, only the Magi or Stella having been investigated exhaustively. The relation of the Prophet plays and the liturgical Prophetae to the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon Contra Judaeos, used as lectio during Advent and on the Vigil of Christmas, has been demonstrated. The Old Testament plays and the Passion plays have just begun to receive their share of attention. In no case have the various steps of the growth and development of the plays from liturgy to mystery plays been shown, with the full quota of citations from the plays in the several languages.

The history of this gradual development has indeed been presented, both in German and English, especially by Chambers and Creizenach in the books mentioned above, and in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, so far as research has made it available. It appears that the plays of Easter and Christmas and Epiphany had essentially the same development. In every case a trope or sequence, which had been fitted to a part of the service music as an embellishment, was expanded into a

dialogue by antiphonal singing. To give to the persons of this dialogue the corresponding Biblical names and add the dramatic action was a step which followed as a matter of course. When the little dramatic scene became too long to be included in the regular service, it was appended to the service as a liturgical play or Ordo. With the addition of new features, especially such as were of a comic nature, the dignity of the Church could no longer countenance the performances inside the place of worship. Performances were then given in the church-yard or on the town commons. From early times translations of the speeches in the plays were added to make them intelligible to the audience. And finally, the Latin in the speeches was reduced to a minimum or confined to the cues and stage directions, and the entire play proper was given in the vernacular. In this last form, the popular plays were often brought together, especially in Germany and England, in the form of cycle plays.

It appears, then, that the plays with which we are here concerned—the liturgical plays of the church services, the semi-liturgical plays separated from the regular church services, the semi-vernacular plays which had left the church in most cases and added extra-ecclesiastical features, and the vernacular single or cycle plays—are, with very few exceptions, not the product of individual authorship, but the result of slow growth, of gradual accretion. This growth took place in two ways. In many cases, additional material, episodes, and scenes were added from the liturgy. In other cases, apocryphal and legendary material was added, or patristic and homiletic expositions were incorporated. There also occurred a great deal of borrowing from one to another between the larger centers of play cycles, and a transposition of minor incidents.

Further Liturgical Sources

But the investigations which have been outlined here have not been carried far enough. Though *trope* and *homily* have received considerable attention as sources of the medieval drama, the importance of the *responses*, *antiphons*, and *versicles* in the church services has either been overlooked entirely, or has not been recognized with sufficient distinctness. And yet a study of the liturgy shows that peculiar emphasis attaches to the responses and antiphons.

The term *antiphon* originally denoted alternating song or chanting. By the time of Gregory the Great it meant merely a verse or formula which the precentor chanted and which was repeated by the choir. Antiphons were sung both at the beginning and at the end of psalms on great festival days. The antiphon was impressive, not only on account of its frequent repetition, but also because it brought the contents of the respective psalm into connection with the respective festival, and in this way

often gave the meaning of the mystery or symbolism contained in the chanted psalm or prophetic passage. "The antiphon gives the key to the liturgical and mystical meaning [of the Scripture passage]; it contains the fundamental thought." (*Catholic Encyclopedia.*) The same is true of the responsoria and versicles. They were the answer of the congregation to the reading of the various lectiones, not only the epistle and gospel lessons, but also the homilies and special readings. They contain the dramatic nuclei of the episodes presented in the lectiones and very often carry the entire story in a connected manner. This arrangement, including the repetition of the most prominent features of the festival story, served also a mnemonic purpose. The constant reiteration served to impress the outline of the story upon the memories, and it answered this purpose long after the meaning of other parts of the services had been forgotten.

The predominating influence of this portion of the liturgy, as stated above, has never been recognized or demonstrated in its full extent and influence on the medieval drama up to the mystery play. And yet, a study of the early plays, both in the original Latin and in the later vernacular development, shows that the plot-outline of the plays, both in stage directions and other cues, is taken from the liturgy and maintains an identity of structure which compels attention by its very uniformity. This uniformity of plot construction in the German and English, as well as in the French and Italian plays, and the peculiar outcropping of the same antiphonal tags in all these languages is an argument for their common liturgical basis. Besides the division of the church year into seasonal groups is a most significant one with reference to the smaller grouped episodes of the Latin plays, as well as the later corresponding divisions of the mysteries.

Divisions of Church Year

The church year opens with the season of Advent, the season of preparation for Christmas. The early part of this division is devoted to eschatological subjects. In the latter part, especially on and after the fourth Sunday in Advent, the Christmas theme is brought into the foreground. The Christmas festival itself is a very prominent one; it has the customary Vigil and Octave. The Feast of the Innocents is included in the Octave. The festival of Epiphany on January 6 ushers in the story of Christ in the glory of his childhood and early ministry. The season of Septuagesima follows after that of Epiphany. It was devoted to the ministry of Christ in its principal dominical services, and to the Old Testament story in its secondary dominical and in its ferial services. The Old Testament stories were continued in these services up to the third Quadragesimal Sunday (Laetare), while the principal services, beginning

with Quinquagesima, were given over to the story of Christ's later ministry, including the last journey to Jerusalem. Holy Week was devoted to the Great Passion, both in readings and responses, beginning with the entry of Christ into Jerusalem and culminating in the great tragedy of Good Friday, in the death and burial of Christ. The Great Sabbath was the day which had been devoted of old to the story of the descent of Christ into hell. On Easter day and on all the days of its Octave was told the story of the resurrection and the subsequent events. The Easter season merged into the Ascension and Pentecost festivals. In the second part of the church year, beginning with Trinity Sunday, great festivals were rare. The only special features that stood out were the Mary festivals and a few special saints' days. On these days, the services were usually very elaborate and beautiful, very often full of dramatic intensity.

Statement of Thesis

In accordance with these very important facts, I now venture to offer the material presented in this paper in support of the theory that the stock plays of the early medieval age, which are concerned with Biblical or apocryphal subjects, all contain in a more or less pronounced degree the liturgical element. The plays were either based directly upon the liturgy and taken from it, as were the early Latin plays, or the suggestion for their composition and their episodal structure was taken from the liturgy of some festival day or from some minor liturgical cycle clearly discernible in the breviaries. I think I have gathered sufficient material to show more fully and conclusively than has hitherto been done that the Judgment (Eschatological) Plays belong to the Advent season, the Annunciation and Visitation to Advent and Christmas, the Prophetae to Christmas, the Pastores to Christmas, Rachel to the Feast of the Innocents, Magi to Epiphany, Purification of Mary to Candlemas Day, Christ and the Doctors to the first Sunday after Epiphany, the Old Testament Plays to Septuagesima and the beginning of Lent, the Ministry Plays to the Lenten season, and the Passion Plays to Holy Week. The Planctus is built up of Great Sabbath material and Good Friday lessons, the Descensus chiefly of Great Sabbath material. The Resurrection Plays belong to Easter and its Octave. The Ascension and Pentecost Plays are based on services of that season. The Mary Plays are based on material of the Mary festival services.

Since the theory as outlined here and substantiated in the body of the dissertation is a general theory as to sources and development, it follows that the investigation moves along broad lines. The presentation, however, will follow to a certain degree the general outline of similar discussions. Reference is always made to previous research. Epical sources of

whatever nature have not been included in this investigation, except where the nature of the discussion absolutely demanded it. A liturgical survey of the season concerned in the respective chapter usually serves as introduction. The liturgical plays are then taken up in approximate chronological and logical order and examined as to manner of composition and the presence of liturgical tags. The plays of the transitional stage are next discussed and compared with the liturgy in regard to their dependence upon the church service books. Finally, the liturgical element, of whatever nature it may be, is traced also in the secularized vernacular plays in the various languages. Wherever it has seemed necessary, special tables and reference summaries have been introduced.

It must be remembered, finally, that the presence of liturgical tags, whether these be in the nature of tropes, lectiones, antiphons, or responses, may be said to be likely to occur in inverse proportion to the distance from the liturgy in the development of the plays. In the liturgical plays, the Latin tags are basic; in fact, the verbal agreement with the liturgy is perfect. In the transitional stage the liturgical element appears mainly in plot-outline, in stage directions and cues. In the vernacular plays there is usually either a trace of liturgical influence in the Latin tags of plot-outline, or the sequence of episodes is that of the liturgy. Very often, also, there is a difference in the prominence of the liturgical element, the German and French plays in some cases being closer to the liturgy than are the English.

The treatment presupposes an acquaintance with the elements of liturgics and with the general history of the early drama. However, in order to facilitate understanding, I have introduced, to mark agreements with the liturgy, lettered references to the principal tables which appear at the end of the paragraphs on the liturgical plays in the most important sections. These cross-references do not appear in the sections which contain a *general* discussion of the part in question.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL OR JUDGMENT PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Sponsus. Cloëtta, *Romania*, 22:177; Du Meril, *Les Origines du Theatre Moderne*, 233.
Das Spiel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen, Eisenach 1322. Edited by L. Bechstein.
Oberhessisches Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen. Edited by Max Rieger, *Germania*, 10:311.
Jerome's, Augustine's, Comestor's, Bede's texts of the Fifteen Signs of Doom.
The texts of the Fifteen Signs of Doom offered by Nölle, *Beiträge*, 6:413.
Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichristi of Tegernsee. *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 213:947. Appendix in Wright, *Chester Plays*; Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Part 1:206.
Antichrist and Doomsday Play in D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, 141.
Summary of the German Doomsday Plays and the Luzerner Antichrist, in Reuschel, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*.
Ezechiel and Antichrist Plays of the Chester Cycle.
Doomsday Plays of the Chester, Coventry, Towneley, and York Cycles.

The uncertainty in regard to the origin of the Eschatological or Judgment Plays, including that of the Ten Virgins, the Fifteen Signs of Doom, the Antichrist, and Doomsday, which was noticeable during the first decades of research in this field,[1] has recently given way to more or less definite statements connecting these subjects with the Advent season. Professor Craig, in his article "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays"[2] refers to a lectio of Festum Innocentium as having probable significance as to the original position of the Doomsday Plays. Chambers[3] says quite definitely that the Sponsus was "performed either in Advent itself or at the Christmas season," and that the Antichristus "was almost certainly performed at Advent." Creizenach,[4] who devotes a good deal of space to the discussion of these plays, concludes: "In diesen Dramen fehlt jede Anlehnung an die Liturgie eines bestimmten Festtages, doch bestand wohl ursprünglich ein Zusammenhang mit der Verlesung des Evangeliums vom jüngsten Tage, die am letzten Sonntage des Kirchenjahres stattfindet." Reuschel says:[5] "Es musz fraglich bleiben, ob die dramatischen Darstellungen des Weltgerichts den gleichen liturgischen Ursprung haben wie die szenischen Oster-und Weihnachtsfeiern. Die Annahme besitzt aber

[1] Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2:62, note. Pez, "*Ludus paschalis* (?) *de adventu et interitu Anti christi.*"

[2] *Modern Philology*, 10:487, note.

[3] 2:62.

[4] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 70.

[5] *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, 2.

einen hohen Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit . . . Eine Beziehung zur Liturgie ist in diesem kurzen Schauspiele, dem Sponsus, nicht deutlich zu bemerken." He also writes: "Es bot sich ein zwangloser Anschlusz der eschatologischen Dramen an die Verlesung der Adventsevangelien dar." The probability of liturgical influence for all the plays of the eschatological group is thus quite generally conceded, though Creizenach grants this probability with some hesitation.

General Liturgical Survey of Advent

That the end and the beginning of the church year were given over to eschatological subjects in the services, is evident as early as Pamelius and Gregory the Great. According to the Comes, the last Sunday after Pentecost in every year was to have as Gospel lectio Matth. 24:15-28, the prophecy of the end of the world.[6] Chambers calls attention to the fact that a part of 2 Thess. 2, which contains the prophecies concerning Antichrist and the end of the world, was read at Mass on Saturday in the Quatuor Tempora of Advent, according to the York Missal, i, 10.[7] Gueranger[8] shows that the entire season of Advent was to be a time of penance and preparation in expectation of the coming of the Lord. He quotes from the "III. Sermo de Adventu" by Peter of Blois: "There are three comings of our Lord . . . The first was at midnight, according to those words of the Gospel: At midnight there was a cry made, Lo the Bridegroom cometh! . . . We are now in the second Coming . . . . As for the third Coming, it is most certain that it will be, most uncertain when it will be . . . When they shall say, peace and security, saith the Apostle, then shall sudden destruction come upon them, as the pains upon her that is with child, and they shall not escape . . . The Judgment Day will be a day of wrath, on which, as David and the Sibyl have foretold, the world will be reduced to ashes; a day of weeping and fear."

In accordance with these principles, the antiphons of Advent very often touch upon the subject of the end of the world and the events which were to precede it. The following list will bear this out.

Ant: Ecce dominus veniet, et omnes Sancti eius cum eo: et erit in die illa lux magna. All.
Vs: Ecce apparebit Dominus super nubem candidam.
Resp: Et cum eo Sanctorum millia.
Ant: Ecce in nubibus coeli Dominus veniet cum potestate magna. All.
Ant: Ecce apparebit Dominus et non mentietur.

There is a prose of the eleventh century, in which the passage occurs:

[6] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 429.
[7] Chambers, 2:62, note 4.
[8] *The Liturgical Year*, 1:34, et passim.

Adventu primo justifica,
In secundo nosque libera.

In a hymn for Advent we read:

Ut cum tribunal Judicis Damnabit igni noxios,
Et vox amica debitum Vocabit ad coelum pios.
Non esca flammarum nigros Volvamur inter turbines;
Vultu Dei sed compotes Coeli fruamur gaudiis.

A canticle of the Last Judgment[9] contains passages of great dramatic intensity:

Dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem,
Vix justus salvabitur; et ego miser, ubi parebo?
Vox de coelis: O vos mortui, qui jacetis in sepulchris, surgite et occurrite . . . .
Dicet justis ad dexteram positis: Accedite, dilecti filii . . . .
Post haec dicet ad laevam positis:
Nescio vos, cultores criminis . . . .

This canticle reminds one strongly of the hymn, "Dies irae, dies illa," which was very widely known and is used extensively to this day. The Gospel sequence, Luke 21: Erunt signa in sole, et luna . . . , of the end of the world, was used during Advent. The book of the prophet Ezechiel was read at the end of the church year.

Advent Liturgy of Sarum

An examination of the Advent service liturgy in the Sarum Breviary also shows that the eschatological subjects occupied a most prominent place. They may even be said to have been dominant, as the following list shows:

Ant: Ecce Dominus veniet, et omnes Sancti ejus cum eo: Et erit in die illa lux magna. All.
Vs: Ecce apparebit Dominus super nubem candidam.
Resp: Et cum eo Sanctorum milia. (Page x.)

A hymn for Advent reads in part:

Judexque cum post aderis
Rimari facta pectoris,
Reddens vicem pro abditis
Justisque regnum pro bonis,
Non demum artemur malis
Pro qualitate criminis:
Sed cum beatis compotes
Simus perennes caelibes. (xviii.)

Beginning with the Second Nocturn of the First Sunday in Advent, a series of lectiones begins which are taken from a Sermo beati Maximi

[9] Gueranger, 1:180.

episcopi on the end of the world. The following passages give an idea of the scope of the sermon:

"Frequenter audivimus sacris literis praedicatum prius quam Dominus Jesus Christus adveniat antichristum regnaturum. Qui ita tenebras humano generi suae pravitatis infundet, ut lucem veritatis nemo paene perspiciat, et caligine propria operiens mentes hominum caecitatem quandam spiritualibus oculis exhibebit. Nec mirum si diabolus emittat iniquitatis tenebras, cum ipse sit nox omnium peccatorum. Ad huius igitur noctis tetram caliginem depellendam velut fulgor quoddam Christus adveniet. Et sicut lucente die nox subvertitur, ita coruscante Salvatore antichristus effugabitur . . . Potest enim accepi quod ait: Erunt duo in lecto uno: Unus assumetur, scilicet Christianorum plebs; et unus relinquitur, populus Judaeorum . . . Tunc igitur Christianorum beatus populus assumetur in gloriam . . ." (xxiii ff.)

On the Second Sunday in Advent this sermon was concluded and supplemented by lectiones from a Omelia beati Gregorii papae on the same subject, from which the following passage may suffice:

"Quid enim Dominus virtutes caelorum, nisi Angelos, Archangelos, Thronos, Dominationes, Principatus, et Potestates appellat? quae in adventu districti judicis nostris tunc oculis visibiliter apparebunt, ut districte tunc a nobis exigant, hoc quod nos modo invisibilis conditor aequanimiter portat. Ubi et subditur: Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nubibus in potestate magna et majestate . . . "

The Fifteen Signs of Judgment were also included in the Advent liturgy, in the Augustinian acrostic: Judicii signum . . . .

After this brief examination of the liturgy, showing that the eschatological subjects pervaded the entire liturgy of the Advent season and were predominant at certain times, any evidence found in the Judgment Plays in the form of liturgical tags will be doubly significant.

The first play of this series is that of the Ten Virgins, and of the texts of this play the earliest one is the Latin-French "Sponsus."[10] Reuschel[11] says of its date: "Es stammt aus der ersten Hälfte des zwölften Jahrhunderts, gehört also einer wesentlich späteren Zeit an als die ältesten Osterfeiern." Other investigators (Wright, Michel, Du Meril) fix the date in the eleventh century.

The play is a rhymed presentation of the Gospel story of the Ten Virgins, Matth. 25:1-13, with certain other speeches and hymns that connect it quite definitely with the liturgy. Cloëtta says: "Le Mystère de l'Époux, on le sait, fait partie du cycle de Noël." Reuschel writes: "Die Entwicklungsstufe des Zehnjungfrauenmysteriums aus einer gottes-

[10] Cloëtta, in *Romania*, 22:177. Du Meril, *Origines* . . . , 233.

[11] *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, 2.

[12] *Le drame chrétien*, 113.

dienstlichen," lateinischen Feier läszt sich leicht bloszlegen." Sepet[12] comes to the same conclusion: "Arrivée de l'Époux, qui servait à celébrer d'un façon plus pompeuse la fête de Noël." And Du Meril remarks of the Gospel lesson: "Faisait partie de la liturgie ordinaire; on chantait a la messe commune pour plusieurs vierges l'antienne: Prudentes virgines, aptate vestras lampades, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei."

Liturgical Source of Sponsus

The liturgical evidence within the play is even stronger than these men declared it to be. The Office Unius Virginis or Pro Virgine Tantum as well as that Commune Virginis et Martyris, in all of which the Gospel lesson is Matth. 25:1-13, was used more than forty times during the church year. In the Officium Unius Virginis the following responses occur:

Resp: Haec est virgo sapiens, quam Dominus vigilantem invenit, quae, acceptis lampadibus, sumpsit secum oleum, et veniente Domino introivit cum eo ad nuptias.
Vs: Medio autem nocte clamor factus: Ecce Sponsus venit, exite obviam ei . . . .
Resp: Veni, sponsa Christi, accipe coronam . . . .
Vs: Veni, electa mea, et ponam . . . .
Resp: Quinque prudentes virgines . . . .
Ant: Veniente Sponso, virgo prudens preparata, introivit cum eo ad nuptias.
Ant: Et quae paratae erant intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias.
Ant: Et clausa est janua.
Ant: Prudentes virgines, aptate vestras lampades, ecce Sponsus venit; exite obviam ei . . . .

If we consider now that this Officium, which was used so often during the year, was nevertheless usually written out but once, for its first occurrence, and therefore was to be found in full in the Breviaries of the service texts for the Advent season only, both the seeming irrelevancy of certain responses in the play and the aptness of the others for Advent and Christmas, will find their explanation.

The Sponsus play opens with the hymn: Adest Sponsus qui est Christus . . . , evidently a composition after the suggestion of the liturgy. The second stanza of this hymn begins:

Hic est Adam qui secundus per profetam dicitur . . . .

This line led Chambers to think that it linked the Sponsus with the Christmas play of Adam.[13] Since, however, the Adam referred to by him is not budded off the Prophetae, as he supposed, this link will not bear the stress of criticism. There is a better reason for the reference to the "secundus Adam" in the hymn, because the entire Advent season, and especially

[13] *The Medieval Stage*, 2:62.

the 24th of December, was devoted to meditations on the relation between the first Adam and Him whose prototype he was, Christ.[14] This point is emphasized also in the next stanza:

Per quem scelus primi Adae nobis diluitur.

The message of Gabriel in the play seems to have definite reference to Advent and Christmas themes:

Venit en terra pre los vostres pechet,
De la virgine en Bethleem fo net,
En flum Jorda lavet et bateiet . . . .

In the remaining part of the play the Gospel lesson is carried out in rhymes, to the end:

Christus. Amen dico, vos ignosco, nam caretis lumine . . . .
Modo accipiant eas daemones et praecipitentur in infernum.

German Ten Virgin Plays

The vernacular plays of the Ten Virgins were evidently composed with less regard to the liturgy than the Sponsus, but the relation of the subject to the plays of the end of the world is always observed, as in the Luzerne Antichrist Play (Reuschel), where Salvator, in the first part, preaches a sermon on the parable of the Ten Virgins, Matth. 25:1-13, in which there are also references to doomsday, as well as in other parts of the play. And the specifically liturgical element is never entirely wanting.

Separate texts of the Ten Virgin Play are the following:

1. Das Spiel von den Klugen und Törichten Jungfrauen, Eisenach 1322.[15] Liturgical influence in this play is evident in the following passages:

Testimonium domini (fidele, sapientiam praestans parvulis) . . . . (Alt, 344).
Regnum mundi sprevi . . . .
Resp: Emendemus in melius quae ignoranter . . } Resp. in Quadr. *Migne*
Vs: Tribularer, si nescirem misericordias . . . . } *Patrologia Latina* 78:751.
Surgite vigilemus . . . .
Date nobis . . . .
Heu quantus est noster dolor . . . . From Easter Planctus.
Veni electa mea . . . . Resp. Unius Virg. *Migne Patrologia Latina* 78:829.
Transite ad me omnes . . . . Resp.
Sanctus . . . . Gloria et honor . . . .
Miserere, miserere populo tuo . . . .
Cecidit corona . . . . Deficit gaudium . . . .

2. Oberhessisches Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen, Handschrift Cantate 1428 abgeschlossen. Text from first part of fourteenth century.[16] This

[14] *Cf.* Alt, 310.

[15] Published by Ludw. Bechstein, *Das grosze thüringische Mysterium oder das geistliche Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen.*

[16] Published by Max Rieger, *Germania*, 10:311. *Cf.* 11:135.

play has the same structure as the Sponsus and is probably based, either upon a Latin play like that one or directly upon the liturgy.

3. Jungfrauenszenen in den Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspielen, *Germania* 4.

4. Ein khurtz geistlich spill aus dem 25. Cap. Mathei getsogen von den zehen Junckfrawen, von Andreas Khintsch.[17]

5. Ein Tragedi Das ist ein Spile . . . und von den zehen Junckfrawen, von Doctor Alexander Seitz.[18]

6. Parabola Christi de decem virginibus, von Hieronymus Ziegler 1555.

7. Nymphocomus, von Christophorus Brockhag, Rostock 1595.

The last five plays seem to have been composed independently of the liturgy.

Fifteen Signs of Doom

The most exhaustive investigation of the subject of the Fifteen Signs of Doom has been made by Nölle.[19] He discusses altogether fifty-one texts in Greek, Latin, French, Provençal, Spanish, Italian, High German, English, Friesian, and Low Dutch. The later texts are based principally upon Augustine, Comestor, Bede, Acquin, and upon a version ascribed to Jerome. The difference between the three versions of Jerome, Augustine, and Comestor may be seen from the following table:

Jerome	*Augustine*	*Comestor*
1. Rising of sea	1. Bloody dew of earth	1. Rising of sea, 40 cubits
2. Receding of sea until absorbed	2. Earthquakes	2. Receding of sea
3. Fish and marine animals on dry land	3. Burning of earth and water	3. Marine animals on land
4. Sea burning	4. Opening of gates of Hades	4. Sea and waters burn
5. Blood on whole earth	5. Godless burned with fire	5. Herbs and trees have bloody sweat
6. Destruction of houses, cities, &c.	6. General sorrow and fear	6. Destruction of buildings.
7. Stones and rocks strike together	7. Signs in stars and sun	7. Stones strike together
8. Very bad earthquakes, no animal can stand	8. Signs in heaven, darkening of moon	8. General conflagration

[17] Published by Bolte, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 32:10.

[18] Published by Bolte, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 26:71.

[19] *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, 6:413.

Jerome	*Augustine*	*Comesthr*
9. Men leave caverns to seek the open	9. Lowering of hills, filling up of valleys, falling of buildings	9. Earthquakes
10. Dead arise	10. Mixing of land and water	10. People leave caves
11. Rending of sky, burning of air	11. Destruction of earth	11. Dead arise
12. Those still alive die	12. Rivers and waters afire	12. Stars fall
13. Purging of earth by fire	13. Sounding of trumpet	13. Those still alive die
14. New heaven and new earth	14. Earth a chaos	14. Heaven and earth burn
15. Christ coming to judgment	15. Falling of fire and brimstone	15. New heaven and new earth, resurrection

These three versions as well as that of Bede were used and quoted quite indiscriminately. They are all based upon the apocryphal Fourth Book of Esra, chapters 5 and 6. The acrostic of Augustine often appears independently of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon, "Contra Judaeos." The fifteen signs of doom were sometimes connected with the Antichrist play, as in the Chester cycle. The structure of the Ezechiel play, in this case, agrees with the first part of the Luzerne Antichrist Play of 1549, and the two have probably had the same or a similar source. While it is true that the fifteen signs of doom in the Chester Ezechiel agree with the text of Petrus Comestor, it is very probable that the suggestion for the addition was taken from the liturgy and that this part came into the cycle together with the Antichrist play, which will be discussed presently.

Antichrist

The subject of the Antichrist was one which had received a great deal of attention in the Church since the earliest times. In a "Liber de Antichristo,"[20] originally ascribed to Augustine, but probably written by either Alcuin (d. 804) or Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), the entire life of Antichrist is briefly given. The "Libellus de Antichristo" of Adso[21] seems to be based upon this treatise or upon a similar one, since it agrees, in many cases word for word, with that text. It includes the birth of Antichrist, the beginning of his career, his triumphant success in gaining even the kings for his cause, Gog and Magog, the coming of the prophets Elias and Enoch and their slaughter by Antichrist, his perishing in turn before

[20] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 40:1132.

[21] Migne, 101:1291.

the splendor of Christ's coming, and the appearance of Christ for the final judgment of the world. Peter Damianus (d. 1072) even has a treatise, "De novissimis, de Antichristo, de quindecim signis praecedentibus."[22]

The author of the Tegernsee "Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichristi" (misnamed by Pez, in his Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus "Ludus paschalis") therefore had plenty of material at hand for his church play. The play dates from the twelfth century and was a very elaborate production. It begins with Antichrist at the height of his power, shows the struggle between Synagoga and Ecclesia, the effort of Rex Babylonia to overthrow Ecclesia, the coming of Enoch and Elias, the destruction of Antichrist.[23]

That the Antichrist was an Advent play is evident from a text printed by D'Ancona,[24] which has the heading: In dominica de Adventu incipiunt duo Reges qui veniunt cum Antexpo. The play has the same contents as other Antichrist plays: Antichrist deceiving the people, Enoch and Elias sent to preach the truth, their slaughter by Antichrist, the command to the angel Michael to kill Antichrist, "angelus occidens Antexpm cum spada ignis dicat . . . , Satan cum aliis Demonis conducit eum ad Infernum."

The Benediktbeuern Christmas Play (Ludus scenicus de nativitate Christi) also shows that the Antichrist belonged to the Christmas series in the wider sense, since it is in the nature of a fragmentary cycle containing the Prophetae, Christmas, Epiphany, and Antichrist plays.

Other texts of Antichrist plays are the following:

1. Der Entkrist, in der Münchener Fastnachtspielhandschrift, fourteenth century.[25]

2. Frankfurter Antichristspiel von 1468 und 1469.[26]

3. The Antichrist incident in the poem, "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz auf das jungst gericht gereymt."[27]

4. The Antichrist of the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.[28]

5. Niederdeutsches Gedicht vom Antichrist.[29]

6. Luzerner Antichrist vom Jahre 1549.[30] In the prologue of this play, Isaias, Ezechiel, Daniel, and Zacharias appear. A part of the ministry of Jesus is included. Then comes the usual order: Antichrist at the zenith of his power with Gog and Magog and Darius and his vassals, and finally, the fall of Antichrist, with its results.

[22] Migne, 145:837.

[23] *Cf.* Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 70-78; Migne, 213:949.

[24] *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, 141.

[25] Published by A. Keller, *Fastnachtsspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert.*

[26] Published by Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, 2:536.

[27] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[28] *Germania*, 4:338.

[29] *Von der Hagens Germania*, 10:139, 22.

[30] Published by Reuschel, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele.*

The Chester Antichrist is far more conservative than that of Luzerne. The prophecies of Ezechiel, the Psalm, Daniel, and Sophonia are given in Latin before their content is rendered into English. The power of Antichrist, the coming of Enoch and Elias, their slaughter by Antichrist, who is in turn put to death by Michael and taken to hell,—all these parts are included in the play.

Doomsday Plays

The Doomsday play was originally also an Advent play. In the text from D'Ancona, referred to above, the Judgment follows immediately after the Antichrist, and its structure and contents link it very closely to the liturgy for Advent:

Xps ad Giusti: Benedicte dal mio Pate,
Venite al resigno a possidere . . . .
Justi intrant in celo . . . .
Xps a Damnati: E voie, audate, Maledecte,
A quil fuoco sempiterno . . . .
Mary's intercession is in vain. Demons carry them ad Infernum.

The extant German plays are all very much expanded, but they still retain the nucleus of the liturgy. There are eleven principal texts of the Doomsday play analyzed by Reuschel:[31]

Donaueschingen Text, in der Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek, fifteenth century.
Thottsches Manuskript, Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen, fifteenth century.
Rheinauer Text, von Hans Trechsel 1467.
Wülkers Handschrift, end of fifteenth century.
Berliner Handschrift der Kgl. Bibliothek 1482.
Handschrift des Curer Stadtarchivs 1507.
Codex Monacensis 1510.
Auszüge in Tennglers Layenspiegel 1511.
Luzerner Handschrift der Bürgerbibliothek, *Herrigs Archiv*, 75:384.
Wallenstädter Text 1653(?).
Die Comedy vom Jüngsten Gericht, ein altes Volksschauspiel von Altenmarkt bei Radstadt.

The subject is also included in the poem "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt," and in the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.

In the English field, the Doomsday play is included in the four principal cycles. In the Chester Doomsday play the traditional story is still the nucleus of the plot, while the liturgical element seems to have been preserved in the following tags:

Ego sum alpha et o, primus et novissimus.
Qui non credit, jam judicatus est.

[31] *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, 94-96.

Filius hominis venturus est in gloria patris sui cum angelis suis et reddit unicuiquam secundum opus.

Sic erit in consummatione seculi, exibunt angeli et separabunt malos de medio justorum et mittent omnes in caminum ignis ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium.

None of these passages agrees with the Vulgate, therefore the inference is that they were taken from the liturgy or from the text of a liturgical play.

In the Coventry Doomsday play, there is an awakening of the dead by the angel Michael (Surgite . . . Venite ad judicium) followed by the judgment:

Venite benedicti . . . . Patris mei . . . .

The play is fragmentary.

The Towneley and York Judgment Day plays seem to be, in reality, the same play. There is some extraneous material at the beginning, but the play proper has the traditional structure:

Mi blissid childre on my right hande,
Yours dome þis day ȝe thare not drede . . . .
ȝe cursid caytiffes of Kaymes kynne,
þat neuere me comforte in my care . . . .

The following conclusions are offered in regard to the Judgment plays: The liturgy of Advent and the special festivals included within the season of Advent contain full accounts and sufficient subject material of eschatological subjects to connect the plays with this part of the church year. Stage directions and liturgical tags strengthen the probability that these plays were originally composed for use during Advent, the Antichrist with Fifteen Signs on the first Sunday, Doomsday on the second. Even the cycle plays retain some evidence of liturgical influence. The Ten Virgin play remained unconnected, because the service was not included in the Kalendarium et Temporale of the Breviaries and was not confined to a single festival day.

THE PROPHET PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Laon Prophetae
Mystere des Prophetes du Christ, Limoges.
Mystere de la Nativite du Christ, Munich, usually called the Benediktbeuern.
Festum Asinorum, Rouen, fourteenth century.
Passio de Frankfort.
Mystere de Daniel, Hilarius.
Daniel of Beauvais.
Biblische Geschichte von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz aufs jungst Gericht gereymt.
Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht.
Egerer Spiel.
Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.
Frankfurter Dirigierrolle von 1350.
Frankfurter Passionsspiel von 1493.
Weavers' Pageant of Coventry.
Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Cycle, V, VI, VIII.
York Cycle, XII, XIV, XV.
Towneley Mysteries, VII, XII.
Ludus Coventriae, VII.

Until a few years ago, Sepet's "Les prophetes du Crist, étude sur les origines du théatre au moyen âge" was considered the last word on this part of the liturgical drama. Weber,[32] Chambers,[33] Hemingway,[34] Creizenach,[35] and others accepted the arguments of Sepet "in toto" without question. His principal discovery was that the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Judaeos" is the source of the Prophetae plays. This, of course, goes unchallenged. But the theory which he advanced in regard to the connection of the whole series of the Old Testament plays with the Prophet play, which has been accepted and even elaborated by Chambers, Creizenach, and others, has been found inadequate by Professor Craig,[36] who substitutes another theory, which will be discussed under the Old Testament plays.

For the purpose of the present discussion, it will be sufficient to summarize the applications of Sepet's theory to some of the principal plays; but, on the other hand, it will be necessary to treat at greater length certain excrescences in the development of the Prophetae, many of which have a distinct liturgical source.

[32] *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*, 41.
[33] *The Medieval Stage*, 2:52-59, 68.
[34] *English Nativity Plays*, 263 et passim.
[35] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1911), 61-64.
[36] *Modern Philology*, 10:473.

The principal Latin plays belonging to this group are the following: the *Laon Prophetae*,[37] the *Limoges Prophetae*,[38] the *Munich Prophetae*,[39]—this is usually considered as belonging to the transitional stage,—and the *Rouen Prophetae*.[40] A comparison of these four texts with the original Pseudo-Augustinian sermon[41] can best be shown in the form of a table.

The Sermon	*The Liturgical Plays*
	Israel: (Limoges) Dux de Juda non tollitur.
Isaiah: Ecce virgo in utero concipiet.	*Isaiah:* (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Est necesse virgam Jesse de radice provehi. (Munich) Ecce virgo concipiet.
Jeremiah: Hic est deus noster et non aestimabitur alius absque illo.	*Jeremiah:* (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Sic est hic est deus noster . . . .
Daniel: (juvenis aetate) Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum cessabit unctio vestra.	*Daniel:* (juvenis: Laon; juvenilem vultum habens: Rouen; Limoges) Sanctus sanctorum veniet, et unctio deficiet; (Munich) O Judea misera, tua cadat unctio.
David: Mons dei mons uber	*David:* (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Universus grex conversus adorabit Dominum . . . .
Moyses: (legislator) Prophetam vobis suscitabit Deus	*Moyses:* (Laon) Prophetam accipietis tamquam me, hunc audietis; (Limoges) Dabit Deus vobis vatem, huic ut mihi aurem date; (Rouen) Vir post me venit exortus . . . .
Habakuk: Domine audivi auditum tuum et timui	*Habakkuk:* (Laon) Opus tuum inter duum latus animalium . . . . ; (Limoges, Rouen) Expectavi, mox expavi Metu mirabilium, Opus tuum inter duum Corpus animalium . . . .
Symeon: Nunc dimittis domine	*Simeon:* (Laon) Tuum sub pacis tegmine, Servum dimittis domine . . ; (Limoges, Rouen) Nunc me dimittas, domine . . . .
Zacharias: (pater Johannis) Tu puer propheta Altissimi vocaveris	*Zacharias:* (Rouen) Per viscera dulciflue Dei misericordie . . . .

[37] U. Chevalier, Ordinaires de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Laon (1897); *Biblioteque liturgique*, 6:385.

[38] *Mystere des Prophetes du Christ*, XI siecle. Du Meril, 179.

[39] *Mystere de la Nativite du Christ: Ludus scenicus de nativitate Christi.* Munich, thirteenth century. Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80; Du Meril, 187.

[40] *Festum Asinorum*, fourteenth century. Gaste, *Les drames liturgiques de la Cathedrale de Rouen.*

[41] *Sarum Breviary:* Lectio III Adventus; Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 42:1117-1130. *Cf.* 78:1031: In vigilia natalis Domini ad Matutinum . . . . Quarta lectio sermo sancti Augustini, Vos inquam convenio, o Judaei. In quarta cantantur sibyllini versus: Judicii signum: tellus sudore . . . .

The Sermon	*The Liturgical Plays*
Elizabeth: Unde mihi hic ut veniet mater	*Elizabeth:* (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Quid est rei quod me mei Mater regis visitat . . . .
Johannes: (precursor) Ecce venit post me . . . . Ecce agnus dei	*Johannes:* (baptista) (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Venit talis Salutaris, Cuius non sum etiam Tam benignus . . . .
Virgilius: Iam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto	*Maro-Virgilius:* (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Ecce polo dimissa Sola nova progenies est. (Munich) Nova progenies matris . . . . (mixed with Sibylla!)
Nebuchadnezzar: Ecce ego video quattuor viros salutos deambulantes.	*Nebuchadnezzar:* (Laon, Rouen) Tres in igne positi pueri . . . . ; (Limoges) Cum revisi tres quos misi . . . .
Sibylla: Judicii signum: tellus	*Sibylla:* (Laon, Limoges, Rouen, Munich) Judicii signum . . . .

The similarity is so striking that even minor dissimilarities seem to require an explanation. The fact that Moses does not retain his position in the Limoges and Rouen plays may be explained either by the nature of his prophecy or, better yet, on account of the attempt to obtain a correct chronological sequence. Of the Balaam addition, which occurs in the Laon (Exibit de Jacob rutilans nova stella . . .), in the Munich (Orietur stella ex Jacob . . .), and in the Rouen plays (Exibit ex Jacob rutilans . . .), Professor Craig says:[42] "This prophecy made its appearance in the liturgical drama apparently first in the Stella. It occurs as a responsorium in the Sarum Breviary in the service of Feria IV. Quatuor Temporum to a lectio drawn from a sermon of the Venerable Bede . . . From the Stella it was probably borrowed into the Prophetae; for it occurs in a large number of Magi plays." But it would hardly seem necessary to assume this roundabout way. In the first place, a sequence based upon the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon was in general use as early as the first part of the eleventh century or even before,[43] and the Laon Prophetae with the Balaam incident dates from the same century, while the first Stella text, that of Nevres, is dated 1060.[44] Therefore the Balaam incident was probably in the Prophetae before the first Stella was in general use. And in the second place, among the many Old Testament prophecies which were used as responses during Advent, that of Balaam

[42] *The Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, 475, note 8.

[43] Gueranger, *The Liturgical Year*, 1:246.

[44] Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 40, 146.

occupies a very prominent place. It is listed among the responses for the entire week of the Fourth Sunday in Advent:

> *Resp:* Orietur stella ex Jacob, et exurget homo de Israel; et confringet omnes duces . . . . .[45]

The same reason which caused the authors of the Laon, Limoges, and Rouen plays to substitute, in the case of Isaiah, for the prophecy of the sermon the very well known "radix Jesse" prophecy from the liturgy, also prompted the Laon author to add the Stella prophecy. This is all the more probable, since the liturgy suggests all the Old Testament prophecies concerning the virgin birth, and there is an antiphon, Feria quarta in Dominica quarta, in matutinis Laudibus:

> Prophetae praedicaverunt nasci Salvatorem de virgine Maria.[46]

The same reason prompted the author of the Limoges play to include Israel (Jacob) in the list of prophets with the prophecy: Dux de Juda non tollitur . . . The antiphon is among the responses of the Fourth Sunday in Advent:

> Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniet qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.[47]

In regard to the Simeon incident in the Laon play, with its bit of action, see Professor Craig's note.[48] In the Rouen play, the original Processus Prophetarum is much expanded and the original idea subordinated to the Balaam incident, as the superscription "Festum Asinorum" indicates. We have here, besides the original prophets tabulated above, the following in addition:

Amos: Ecce dies venient . . . .
Aaron: Virga Jesse florida . . . .
Samuel: In Israel faciet rex verbum . . . .
Osee: Deus nunciavit de filio David . . . .
Joel: Effundam de spiritu meo . . . .
Abdias: Et in monte Syon salvatio erit . . . .
Jonas: O Judei huius rei signum genus fatuum . . . .
Micah: Descendet Dominus, cui non est terminus . . . .
Nahum: Super montem evangelizantis . . . .
Sophonia: In medio tui, Syon, rex regnabit . . . .
Zacharias: En rex tuus venit Justus . . . .
Ezechiel: Per clausam januam rex intrabit . . . .
Malachias: Scimus hoc dicentem Deum . . . .

In this play, the Nebuchadnezzar prophecy is expanded into a little scene of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. It has been thought that this

[45] *Sancti Gregorii Magni Liber Responsalis*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78:731.
[46] Column 732.
[47] Column 730.
[48] Page 475, note 4.

incident was sporadic and that the little by-play stood alone, at least in the West. A very probable explanation for its presence in this connection may, however, be found in the fact that there was a small scene of the "Three Children in the Furnace" in the Greek liturgy for Daniel day, the 17th of December. In the Occident, the Saturday of the third week in Advent was devoted to the reading of Dan. 3:26 ff., in connection with which dramatic representations were by no means exceptional.[49] So this scene may either have been suggested by the known existence of such a play, or Occidental liturgies may, in isolated cases, have made use of this material.

On the whole, it appears from all these additions, either that the author of the Rouen Prophetae, with some attempt at original composition, made deliberate additions of such great extent, or that the two centuries had witnessed gradual emendations of the original Prophetae play, making it the elaborate composition we have before us.

In the Munich or Benediktbeuern play, most of the original prophecies are omitted, though Aaron has been added. This addition is, of course, very easily explained, since Moses and Aaron were usually named together.

Plays of Transition

In the transition stage, we have the Passio de Frankfort,[50] which is a much corrupted Prophetae with parts of the life of Christ interspersed in it. In this case, the relation of the play to the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon is shown by the following characters: Augustine, David, Solomon, Daniel, Zacharias, Osee, Jeremiah, Isaiah. In the Mystere de Daniel, of Hilarius, the influence of the same source is still seen in the verses:

Nascetur Dominus cuius imperio cessabit regimen et regum unctio.[51]

In the Beauvais Daniel, the influence is seen as well in the hymn "Congaudentes celebremus," whose similarity to the opening hymn of the Limoges play is most marked, as in the "Danielis jam cessavit unctionis copia" and "Ecce venit sanctus ille sanctorum sanctissimus." Both the last named plays are Christmas plays, as is shown by the close: "Nuntium vobis fero de supernis, natus est Christus . . . ."[52]

German Prophet Plays

In the German cyclical poem based on the liturgy, "Biblische

[49] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 204, 307, 327.

[50] Du Meril, 297.

[51] Du Meril, 241.

[52] Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*.

Geschichte von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz aufs jungst Gericht gereymt,"[53] the following Prophets are included: Abraham, Moses, Balaam, Iop, David, Salomon, Abagug, Aggeus, Macheus, Zacharias, Jonas, Osee, Malachias, Sibylla, Nebucadnezzar, Virgilius, Isayas, Jeremias, Daniel, Ezechiel, Zacharias. The presence of Virgil, the Sibyl, and Balaam would constitute sufficient evidence to prove the liturgical connection.

In the Mastricht Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel,[54] the Prophetae finds its place after the fall and the first promise of the Savior: Balaam (the Stella prophecy), Ysaias (Ecce virgo concipiet . . .), and Virgilis (Ho van hiemilriche sal kamen wnderliche eine nuwe gebort . . .). The prophecies are followed by the Annunciation.

In the Egerer Spiel[55] the connection is not quite so apparent. There are only four prophets mentioned: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakuk, Ezechiel. But there is a special David and Goliath scene, as well as a Solomon incident. The evidence for direct liturgical influence here, in comparison with other plays, does not seem very strong, but we can hardly conceive of an exception in this one instance.

In the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel aus dem Jahre 1479,[56] we have a similar instance. The David and Goliath and the Solomon incidents are followed by the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. In this case, however, both Moses and Aaron receive separate treatment, while in the preceding case Moses, with the "filii Israel," the Exodus, and the Giving of the Law, was included.

In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of about 1350[57] the connection is again perfectly obvious, since the following characters appear in the list of the Prophets: Augustinus, David Rex (Percussus sum . . .), Salomon, Daniel (Post septuaginta hebdomata . . .), Zacharias propheta (Exulta satis, filia . . .), Osee propheta (Post duos dies dominus . . .), Ieremias propheta, Ysaias propheta (Domine, quis crediderit . . .). The substituting of Is. 53 for Is. 7:14 and 9:1 seems to be characteristic of the German plays.

In the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493[58] the list of prophets is not quite so long. Augustine is in evidence and the Prophetae include David (Die konige von den landen zusamen han gestanden), Solomon, Daniel, Zacharias propheta (Syon dochter lobelich . . .), Iheremias, Ysaias.

[53] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[54] Julius Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

[55] Karl Bartsch, Über ein geistliches Schauspiel des XV Jahrhunderts, *Germania*, 3:267.

[56] H. Werner, *Germania*, 4:338.

[57] Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 336.

[58] Froning, 1.

English Prophet Plays

In the English field also, we have plays that show connection with the liturgy. In the Weavers' Pageant of Coventry, the Presentation of Christ,[59] the following "Profetae" are mentioned: Balaam (Orietur stella ex Jacob), Isaee (Ecce virgo concipiet . . .), Malache (The sun of Lyff schall spring and arise), Jareme (In heyvin God schulde make seede, A greyne off Davith thatt now ys cum). In the Presentation scene proper, "Semeon and Anne" have a conversation concerning "anceant profettis," in the course of which are mentioned Isaee (In facie populorum, this did he say, Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra), Sebellam, Balaam, and Malache. The corruption is apparent, but no less than the liturgical connection.

In the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry (Craig, *Early English Text Society*, vol. 87, *Extra Series*, Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays) there is but a remnant of the liturgy. Isaye is introduced as saying: That no creature ys abull vs forto reyles, Tyll thye right uncion of Jvda dothe seyse . . . . Ecce virgo consepeet . . . .

In the Chester Plays, the evidence of the influence of the Prophetae is found in three plays. In the play of Balaam and his Ass there is the most expanded form of the Balaam incident in the liturgical plays. The prophecy occupies the prominent place which we should expect from its source, the star of Jacob being emphasized throughout. The play as it here appears is, of course, a separate outgrowth of the Prophetae, the single incident of Balaam being expanded into a full play. It should not be confounded with the Beauvais Epiphany Play, in which the ass was a figure of still greater importance than here.[60] The other prophets which appear in the Chester Processus are principally the conventional ones: Esayes (I saye a mayden meeke and mylde, Shall conceave and bear a childe), Exechiell (Vidi portam in domo Domini clausam et dixit angelus ad me: Porta . . .), Jheremias (Deducant oculi mei lacrimas . . .), Ionas (Clamavi de tribulacione mea . . . .), Dauid (De summo caelo egressio eius . . . .), Ioell (Effundam de spiritu meo . . . .), Micheas (Tu Bethlehem terra Juda . . . .). In the Salutation and Nativity Play there is a Sybbell (A barne shalbe borne blesse to bringe, The which that never hade beginninge, Ner never shall endinge have). In the next lines the "Jam nova progenies" of Virgil is contained (That God will bringe mankind to blesse, And sende from heaven, leve well this, His son our savyour). In the Play of the Three Kings we find the prophecy of Jacob (Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda . . . .), of Danyell (Cum

[59] Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, Early English Text Society, 87 Extra Series; Holthausen *Anglia*, 25.

[60] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 326.

venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra), of Micah concerning Bethlehem, and of Isaiah (Ambulabant gentes in lumine tuo).

In the York Plays the influence of the liturgy is even more definite. In the Play of the Annunciation and Visit to Elizabeth there is a long list of prophecies, most of which will be found to agree with the Pseudo-Augustinian list in its more expanded form. The following prophecies appear: Amos (Deus pater disposuit salutem fieri in medio terre . . .), Gen. 22:18 (Quoniam in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes), Gen. 27:28 (Orate celi desuper), Is. 7:14 (Ecce, virgo concipiet . . . .), Is. 9:7 (Zelus domini faciet hoc), Is. 9:1 (Egredietur virga de Jesse), Joel, Hosea 14:6 (Ero quasi ros et virgo Israel germinabit . . . .), Gen. 49:10 (Jacob: Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda . . . .), John Baptist (Ego quidem baptizo in aqua . . . .), Mark 1:2 (Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam . . . .). Most of these prophecies are ascribed to the original Pseudo-Augustinina characters. The "Orate celi desuper" is undoubtedly a contamination of the common response for the time of Advent: Rorate celi desuper . . . . In the Play of the Journey to Bethlehem the prophecy of Balaam (told full longe beforne How þat a sterne shulde rise full hye) and of Habakuk (between bestis lye) are used. In the Play of the Angels and the Shepherds, the prophecies of Hosea, Isaiah, and Balaam are mentioned.

In the Towneley Mysteries, there is a fragmentary Processus Prophetarum which shows the direct influence of the liturgy. The following characters appear: Moyses (Prophetam excitabit deus de fratribus vestris), David (Omnes reges adorabunt eum, omnes gentes seruent ei), Sibilla (Judicii signum: tellus sudore madescit), and Daniel (Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit uncio vestra). In the Pagina Pastorum the list is a little longer: Isay (Exiet virga de radice iesse), Sybyll, Nebugodhonossor (the fourt stode before godys son like to bene), Ieremy, Moyses, Abacuc, Ely, Elizabeth and zachare, Dauid, John Baptysta, Daniel, Virgill (Iam nova progenies celo dimittitur alto . . . .).

Radix Jesse Play

The Ludus Coventriae offers a peculiar exception from the direct Prophetae influence in the Jesse or Radix Jesse Play, since this is no doubt a Prophetae recast, or a Play of the Genealogy of Mary modeled after the Prophetae. The Radix Jesse motive was used in composing the play and the old Prophetae expanded with material from genealogical passage lectiones in a unique manner. As for the Prophetae source, we have Ysaias (Virgo concipiet . . . . Egredietur virga de radice Jesse), who introduces a line of thirteen prophets. These are made to alternate in the speeches with thirteen kings of the root of Jesse, beginning with David.

The prophets in their alternate order are: Jeremias, Ezechiel (Of a gate that sperred was truly), Micheas, Danyel (In figure of this I saw a tre), Jonas (I, Jonas, sey that on the iiide morn . . . .), Abdias (Dethe xal be drewyn to endless dampnacion), Abacuche (he shall up stye In hevyn as juge sit in his se), Joelle (He wolde sende downe his sprytt i-wys, On yonge and olde full sekyrlye), Aggeus (ffrom the wulf to save al shepe of his floke), Ozyas, Sophosas, and Baruk. A comparison of the prophecies of these prophets with those given above in the Latin and transitional periods will show that the traditional subjects were mentioned in the prophetic passages. The list of prophets is indeed a long one, but outside of this fact there is nothing extraordinarily strange about it, since all these prophets, with the exception of Aggeus and Baruk, have appeared in Latin liturgical plays. And even the Aggeus is not an isolated instance, since it occurs at least in the liturgical poem "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt," mentioned above. As for the thirteen kings, the deliberate choice of these very ones is not surprising. The Evangelium in die nativitatis Domini, in tertio nocturno, was Matth. 1:16, with the verses 6-10b giving the exact list of the royal descendants in the family of David:[61] David, Solomon, Roboas, Abias, Asa, Josaphat, Joras, Ozias, Joathas, Achas, Ezechias, Manasses, Amon. The explanation for this addition is the following. Throughout the Advent season the Radix Jesse idea is found, the Egredietur virga de radice Jesse occurring as response, as versicle, as antiphon, as capitulum, and as lectio in the liturgy. In addition to that, we have responses like the following:

Ecce venit Deus et Homo de domo David: sedere in throno. All.
Ecce radix Jesse ascendet in salutem populorum . . . .
Radix Jesse qui exurget judicare gentes . . . .
O radix Jesse, qui stas in signum populorum . . . .

A very common response was that known as the Stirps Jesse:

Stirps Jesse virgam produxit, virgaque florem . . . .
Virgo Dei Genetrix est, flos filius ejus . . . .

This response is the one most frequently used in the liturgy of the Mary festivals, especially in the office Conceptionis B. M. V. (Dec. 8), In Nativitate B. M. V. (Sept. 8), and Sanctae Annae, Matris Mariae (July 26).[62] Here we also find the following antiphons:

Haec radix Jesse germinat expers cunctis illecebris:
germen ejus illuminat nos sedentes in tenebris.
Stirps Yesse clara diluit Evae matris opprobrium:
dum Anna prolem genuit florem sanctorum omnium.

The following passage from a lectio is especially significant: "De regali

[61] Sarum Breviary, *Kalendarium et Temporale;* Hereford Breviary.
[62] Sarum Breviary, *Sanctorale,* 41 ff, 569, 539.

nempe tribu, simul et sacerdotali duxit (Maria) originem: quae summum Regem atque Pontificem erat paritura."[63] The lectiones of the Mary festivals continually refer to the Radix, to the genealogical table and its meaning. The lectiones Per Octavas Nativitatis Beatae Mariae contain a complete exposition of the genealogical table Matthew 1:1-16. There can be no doubt that the author of the Ludus Coventriae was familiar with this material, since he, in several cases, makes use of the very explanation of the lectiones, as may be seen from the following table:

Ludus Coventriae	*Liturgy*
David: With regalle power to make man fre.	*David:* Dominus, inquit, fortis: Dominus potens in praelio. Cuius gesta quomodo Dominica facta significent . . . .
Solomon: that wurthy temple for sothe made I . . . . Whiche that is fygure of that mayde 3ynge, That xal be mother of great Messy.	*Solomon:* Quod templum Domino cum omni studio et diligentia aedificavit, figuram Salvatoris nostri et ecclesiae teneant . . . .
Joras: Aftyr his resurreccion return xal to hefne, Bothe God and verry man ther endles to be.	*Joras:* Nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo: Filius hominis qui est in caelo.

The evident agreement here is all the more significant, since the material was so abundant and diversified.

We need not, however, assume that the composition of this play was original with the author of the Ludus Coventriae. It is possible that there was a Play of the Genealogy of Mary, aside from this one instance. The "Skynners" pageant at Hereford was a Jesse play, possibly a Radix play, since it follows Abram, Isack, Moysey cum iiij pueris and precedes Salutacon of our Lady.[64]

There is an interesting article in connection with this question by Mr. John K. Bonnell,[65] in which the author contends that the passage of St. Matthew referred to above, together with Isaiah's prophecy of the branch out of the root of Jesse, furnished the basis for the iconographic Tree of the Radix Jesse (page 336), and that the play was simply an attempt to dramatize this iconographic Tree of Jesse (page 340). If

[63] *Sanctorale*, 775.

[64] Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2: Appendix W, *sub* Hereford.

[65] The Source in Art of the So-Called Prophets Play in the Hegge Collection, Publications *Modern Language Association*, 29:327.

there were no other prophet plays, if the influence of the Prophetae had not been so generally felt, if the prophets of the Coventry play and their prophecies were altogether new and different from the other prophet plays, and, above all, if there were not so much evidence for direct liturgical basis also in this case, then one should not hesitate so much to accept Mr. Bonnell's conclusions. The fact that only four of the Pseudo-Augustinian prophets appear in the Coventry play is an argument which carries little weight, because, as stated above, there are only two prophets in the Coventry list that have not appeared in a Latin liturgical play. And since the tendency of addition, expansion, and borrowing had been evident for several centuries, this small difference does not have much force alone. It seems perfectly safe to believe, with the example of the Rouen Prophetae before us, that some liturgical plays may have been expanded to include the full quota of kings and prophets of the present Coventry play, by making use of the familiar genealogical table of Mary and the explanations of it which had a general circulation in the Breviaries. So far as pictorial representations of the Radix Jesse are concerned, these were made to accompany the liturgy; they grew out of the liturgy, in fact, as we learn from the Sarum Breviary.[66] The footnotes in the passage indicated read as follows: "Radicis Jesse picturam habet Legend. 1518, in principio tertii nocturni de S. Anna. Talem habet et ad Nativitatem B. V. Mariae (VIII. Sept.) Frondes arboris ex utraque sunt reges 'David, Salomon, Roboam, Abia, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, Ozias, Joatam, Acham, Ezechias, Manasses' et in summitate B. Maria quasi rosa Saron et flos Filius ejus.—Radicis Jesse pictura hic quoque in Legend. A. D. 1518 prolata est inter hunc versiculum hinc inde scriptum, scilicet 'Egredietur virga de radice Jesse: et flos de radice eius ascendet' . . . . Consimilem effigiem, sed mensura paullo maioris et sine regum nominibus, exhibet Chavallonii Breviarium in primo nocturno huius festi." These notes are always in explanation of the Radix or Stirps Jesse antiphon. There can be no doubt then that the Radix Jesse idea is liturgical. The Coventry author got his suggestion from the Matthew passage lectiones, with which the Radix Jesse was combined throughout the church year.

There does not seem to be sufficient reason for disclaiming Weber's statement in regard to the relation between liturgy and art; namely, that the former is always the basis of the latter.[67] From the chart offered by Mr. Bonnell on page 331 it would rather seem evident that art shows a development in iconographic representation of the Prophetae and Radix Jesse subject chronologically at the same pace with the liturgical plays. As noted above, it would not seem at all impossible that there was a play of the Radix Jesse or the Genealogy of Mary and that the Coventry play

[66] *Sanctorale*, 539, 540, et passim.

[67] Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*. *Cf.* Bonnell, 340.

may represent a fusion of this play and the Prophetae, thirteen prophets from available sources being introduced to match the thirteen kings in the Matthew passage. Thus there seems to be no need for giving to Coventry a unique and isolated position.

The conclusions for the discussion of the Prophet plays are the following: The Prophetae is based upon the liturgy (Lectio Dominicae III et IV Adventus. In its early development it was expanded by prophecies taken from the Advent portions of the liturgy. In the later development greater liberty was exercised in the use of material and in additions, but the liturgical influence is still either predominant, or at least apparent. The Nebuchadnezzar play (Three Men in Fiery Furnace) was very likely not sporadic, but was introduced under the influence of Greek liturgy. The David and Goliath and the Solomon plays were local excrescences, while only the Balaam play shows a permanent development. The Daniel play (Beauvais, Hilarius) is an outgrowth of the Prophetae The Radix Jesse or Jesse play was a play of the genealogy of Mary, which was in the case of the Coventry Prophet Play fused with a Prophetae.

THE ANNUNCIATION AND VISITATION PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Cividale Annunciation Play, Coussemaker.
Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini.
Zerbster Prozession.
Von der Beschaffung diser Welt . . . . .
Mastricht Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel.
Egerer Spiel.
Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.
Pageant of Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Plays, VI.
York Plays, XII.
Towneley Mysteries, X, XI.
Ludus Coventriae, XI, XIII.

A mass of material without special distinctive marks or tags has almost as many disadvantages as a dearth of records. This situation makes the discussion of the Annunciation and Salutation Plays a rather difficult undertaking and one in which only careful sifting will make conclusions possible. One of the chief difficulties is this, that we can hardly speak of a separate and distinctive liturgy for the Festum Annuntiationis Mariae. It is not included in the Liber Responsalis of Gregory the Great, since its general introduction in the West does not seem to have taken place until the end of the seventh century.[68] And even after the festival had received an office, which appears to be based largely on parts of the services for Advent, the time of the year (March 25) did not permit great celebrations or even an elaborate office. The Council of Toledo declared, in regard to this: "Haec festivitas non potest celebrari condigne, cum interdum Quadragesimae dies vel Paschale festum videtur incumbere, in quibus nihil de sanctorum solemnitatibus, sicut ex antiquitate regulari cautum est, convenit celebrari . . . . . : ideo speciali constitutione sancitur, ut ante octavum diem, quo natus est Dominus, genetricis quoque ejus dies habeatur celeberrimus et praeclarus."[69]

The liturgy of the Sarum and other Breviaries contains the story complete, the principal responses being:

A: **Spiritus sanctus in te descendet, Maria, ne timeas . . . . . .**
Ecce virgo concipiet . . . . . .
Egredietur virga . . . . . .

[68] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 51.

[69] Alt, 51, 52, note.

and the Offertorium being:

Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum . . . . . .[70]

The Hereford Breviary makes provision for the so-called Horae Mariae, Memoria de S. Maria during Advent. The story of the Annunciation was included in the liturgy at Lauds:

Missus est gabriel ad mariam virginem desponsatam joseph.
Egredietur virga . . . . . .
Et flos . . . . . ,

and that of the Salutation at Vespers:

Ave Maria, gratia plena . . . . . .[71]

The Sarum Breviary includes in several places the responses carrying the story, and in addition has extensive lectiones which give a complete exposition of the events. The entire story of the Annunciation is contained in three lectiones taken from Beda super Lucam Libro I, capite 3, beginning: Missus est gabriel angelus a Deo in civitatem . . . . , and in another set of three lectiones taken from the Homiliae Hyemales de Sanctis venerabilis Bedae presbiteri, beginning: Exordium nostrae redemptionis . . . . . And the story of the Visitation and Salutation is found in three lectiones taken from Homiliae aestivales de Sanctis 'In solennitate Deiparae V. Mariae, quando salutavit Elizabeth' venerabilis Bedae presbiteri, beginning: Lectio quam audivimus sancti evangelii et redemptionis nostrae . . . . . .[72]

Cividale Play

The Cividale Annunciation Play, Fifteenth century (Coussemaker, No. 19), with the heading "In annuntiatione B. M. Virginis representatio" and containing a brief dialogue of the Annunciation and Visitation, is apparently the only extant Latin text based on the liturgy for the festival. The liturgical form is used in the address of the angel:

(a) *Angelus:* Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum . . . . . .
(b) Ne timeas, Maria; invenisti . . . . . .
(c) *Maria:* Quomodo fiet istud, quia virum . . . . . .
(d) *Angelus:* Audi Maria, virgo Christi . . . . . .
(e) *Maria:* Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat . . . . . .
(f) *Helisabeth:* Salve chara, Deo grata, Te saluto, sis beata . . . . . .
(g) *Maria:* Magnificat anima mea . . . . . .

Creizenach[73] discusses the play, and shows that it was a favorite sub-

[70] Alt, 364.

[71] Hereford Breviary, Feria secunda I Adventus Domini, 111, 113.

[72] Pages lxxiii, cxv, cxxii.

[73] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 70, 306.

ject, especially in Italy, at the end of the thirteenth century. There is no evidence that this play found the same favor in England and Germany. And it is very likely that there would be some indication of a later addition outside of the chronological order of incidents, if the play had reached the cycles as a well-developed unit.[74]

However, there is no need for theorizing, since the probable solution is so evident.[75] The Annunciation and Visitation theme exerted its greatest influence upon the liturgy of Advent. Gueranger refers to an Annunciation prose in honor of the Virgin, for the Second Sunday in Advent,[76] and to a Visitation prose from a Roman-French Missal for the Fourth Week in Advent.[77] Gautier prints a trope for Christmas:[78] "Beata es, Virgo, et gloriosa inter omnes mulieres et benedicta. Gabriel, haec dicens, attulit affata: Paries filium, virgo intacta; Jesus erit nomen eius cuncta per saecla. Perfecta sunt in te jamque sunt peracta. Hodie ex te Christus natus est in terra....." In the Liber Responsalis of Gregory the Great, upon which the Sarum, the York, and most of the other Breviaries of the Middle Ages are based,[79] we have single responses treating of the Annunciation and Visitation in the ferial services of the Second Advent:

Ant: Beata es, Maria, quae credidisti; perficientur in te quae dicta sunt tibi a Domine . . . . .

and of the Third Advent:

Vs: Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum . . . . .
Ant: Audis, Maria virgo, Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi . . . . .

In the week of the Fourth Advent the entire story is carried by the responses:

Ant: Ecce concipies in utero et paries filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum. Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur.
In evangelio.
Ant: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum . . . . .
Ant: Ex quo facta est vox salutationis tuae in auribus meis, exsultavit in gaudio infans in utero meo . . . . .
Resp: Annuntiatum est per Gabriel archangelum ad Mariam virginem . . . .
Ant: Ave Maria . . . . .
Ant: Vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod interpretatur nobiscum Dominus.
Ant: Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.
Ant: Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam virginem desponsatam Joseph . . .

[74] *Cf.* below, The Purification Play.
[75] *Cf. Lehre und Wehre* (1912), 58:529.
[76] *The Liturgical Year*, 1:204.
[77] Gueranger, 1:238.
[78] *Les Tropes*, 167, note.
[79] Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78.

Add to this wealth of suggestive material the fact, stated above, that the lectiones of Advent contained the complete stories, and it must be admitted that there was certainly sufficient outline and suggestion in the liturgy of that season for both the Annunciation and the Visitation Plays. The composers of cycle plays therefore did not have to hunt far afield for a link between the Prophetae and the Christmas Play proper. They used the outline and the subject material offered them here and in the majority of cases inserted the two plays in close connection in their chronological position. From the records of Lincoln Cathedral it appears that the liturgical play of the Annunciation was given at Christmas time and not on the feast day.[80] From this fact it does not follow, however, as Mr. Hemingway suggests, that the play at an early date became part of the group of Christmas plays, but that it was taken directly from the Christmas liturgy (including Advent), without any intermediary steps. That the liturgical outline, the plain story, was ornamented and the text elaborated from various sources is, of course, evident, but the liturgical basis is clearly enough apparent. Even the idea that the words of Elizabeth: Unde mihi hic . . . . . were taken from the prophecy of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon as a liturgical tag is by no means beyond the pale of probability. The idea of such a connection has been evident in the Daniel play and has been mentioned in the case of the Simeon or Presentation play. If there is any connection, however, it must be restricted to the mere suggestion of the subject, the subject matter being derived from other parts of the liturgy.

German Plays

In the Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini[81] there is both an Annunciation and a Visitation in their proper place. The "Ave Maria, gratia plena" of Angelus in the former, (a), and the "Unde hoc mihi" of Elizabeth in the latter certainly give them the liturgical flavor.

In the Zerbster Prozession[82] there is a "Marie und Elizabet" pageant, after the Old Testament series and just before the "Gebort Christi."

In the poem "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz aufs jungst gericht gereymt"[83] the Salutation and Conception, and the Visitation, follow the Prophetae and just precede the Birth.

In the Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht[84] there is an

[80] Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, xiii (after Canon Wordsworth).

[81] Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80.

[82] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.

[83] Massmann, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[84] Julius Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

Annunciation which follows very closely the wording of the responses given above:

Gabriel: Ne timeas . . . . . (b).
Maria: Quomodo fiet istud. . . . . (c).
Gabriel: Audi Maria virgo . . . . . (d).
Maria: Ecce ancilla Domini . . . . . (e).
Gabriel: Joseph fili David . . . . .

The agreement with the liturgy is so obvious that it causes some surprise not to find a Visitation included before the Birth.

In the Egerer Spiel[85] there is an Annunciation with Ave Maria, followed by a Visitation and Suspicion of Joseph, before the Nativity scene.

In the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel of 1479[86] there is an Annunciacio Mariae, closing with a Te deum, followed by a Visitatio. Then comes the Pastores Play.

English Plays

In the English field, the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry[87] has a complete Annunciation:

Gaberell: Hayle, Mare, full of grace! . . . . . (a).
Mare: . . . . . .
Gaberell: Dred the nothyng, meydin, of this . . . . . (b).
Mare: . . . . . Asse his one hande-mayde I submyt me . . . . . (e).

There is no Visitation scene, although the theme is mentioned (page 4).

In the Chester Cycle, in the Play of the Salutation and Nativity (VI), liturgical influence is more apparent. There is an Annunciation, a Visitation, and a Suspicion of Joseph scene.

Gabriel: Heale by thou, Marye, mother ffree,
Full of grace, God is with thee . . . . . (a).

The part is a very close transcription of the liturgical Ave Maria.

Elizabeth: Marye, blessed moste thou be,
And the frute that comes of thee
Among wemen all . . . . . (f).
Maria: Magnificat anima mea domine,
Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo . . . . . (g).

The Visitation ends with a translation of the Gloria Patri. This Gloria Patri in connection with the Magnificat establishes the connection of this play with the liturgy, the model before the author having been either the liturgy itself or a liturgical play taken from the services.

In the York Annunciation, and Visit of Elizabeth to Mary (?) (XII)

[85] Karl Bartsch, *Germania*, 3:267.

[86] H. Werner, *Germania*, 4:338.

[87] Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, Early English Text Society, 87, Extra Series.

Cantat angelus: Hail Mary, full of grace and bliss,
Oure Lord God is with thee . . . . . (a).
Ne timeas, Maria . . . . . (b).

The scene ends with the Magnificat.

In the Towneley Mysteries there are two separate plays, the Annunciation (X) and the Salutacio Elizabeth (XI). The Ave Maria is the most prominent part in the first play:

Hayll, mary gracyouse,
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
hayll, mary, and well thou be!
My lord of heuen is with the,
wythouten end;
hayll, woman, most of mede, (a)
Goodly lady, have thou no drede,
That I commend . . . . . (b).

In the Salutacio the simplicity of the liturgy is maintained:

Elizabeth: Blyssed be thou of all women,
And the fruyte that I well ken,
Within the wombe of the;
And this tyme may I blys,
That my lordys moder is,
Comen thus unto me . . . . . (f).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Maria: Magnificat anima mea Dominum . . . . . (g).

In the Coventry Mysteries there is a Salutation and Conception (XI), Joseph's Return (XII), and the Visit to Elizabeth (XIII). The Salutation is opened by Contemplacio, calling:

Wolde God thou woldyst breke thin hefne myghtye,

which seems to be the Advent "Rorate coeli desuper." The scene is carried forward in the usual manner and there is a reference to liturgical influence:

Angeli cantando istam sequentiam:
Ave Maria, gratia plena,
Dominus tecum, virgo serena! (a).

In the Visit to Elizabeth the greeting follows the Latin of the liturgy closely. Mary answers with the Magnificat (g), and there is a Gloria Patri and a closing hymn "Ave regina coelorum." In the Coventry Incarnation the line, "Here this name Eva is turned Ave," is taken from the hymn, "Ave maris stella," of which the second stanza reads:

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans Evae nomen.[58]

[58] *Cf.* Hemingway, 248.

In a French Mystere de la Nativite (Du Meril), the Annunciation precedes the Birth with the Ave Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus . . . . (a), the common form of the liturgy.

In the absence of extant material for the intermediary period, the following conclusions are drawn from the discussion of the available texts: The liturgical influence is seen in the Annunciation and Visitation plays: (a) in the presence of the Ave Maria, which is liturgical, not Biblical, matter; (b) in spite of the fact that a great deal of extraneous subject-matter was introduced, the most prominent points of the plays bear the liturgical stamp and, in most cases, show liturgical tags. The Annunciation and Visitation plays of the cycles have their sources in the Advent part of the liturgy, taken at an early date as introductory themes to the Christmas plays proper; The Cividale play is probably a type of the local outgrowth in the Italian field, but is characteristic of the method by which the plays were obtained. The Annunciation and Visitation, on account of the simplicity of the subject, never grew into elaborate individual presentations.

THE PLAY OF THE SHEPHERDS

List of Texts Examined

Officium Pastorum secundum usum ecclesiae cathedralis Claromontensis.
Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem (six texts, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries).
Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini, Munich.
Shrewsbury Fragments.
Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht.
Egerer Spiel.
Pastorale sur la naissance de Jesus Christ.
York Plays XV.
Pageant of Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Plays VII.
Ludus Coventriae XV, XVI.
Towneley Mysteries XII, XIII.

The Officium Pastorum has received considerable attention from investigators, since its liturgical basis was recognized very early. Davidson,[89] Creizenach,[90] and Chambers,[91] have given brief accounts of the play from its earlier Latin forms to the full expansion in the semi-vernacular or transitional form, as the Play of the Shepherds. Mr. Cady[92] draws comparisons between vernacular and liturgical plays. His article is, to some extent, an elaboration and application of the work of Chambers. Mr. Hemingway[93] has done the most thorough work in tracing the sources of the cycle plays in England. His investigations of the liturgical element are not intended to be exhaustive. This part of the field has been covered in the usual thorough and painstaking manner by Professor Karl Young.[94] He gives the original forms of the principal Christmas tropes and traces their expansion, both in dialogue and dramatic development, to the most complete and extensive extant Latin plays. The fact that this part of the field has been covered so thoroughly will enable us to present evidence in the form of a summary and to treat more fully only such additions as would seem required for the purpose of the present discussion.

It was a custom dating back to ancient times for the Gospel lesson for Christmas to be declaimed as a dramatic recitative. "Ein Priester oder

[89] *Studies in the English Mystery Plays.*

[90] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas.*

[91] *The Medieval Stage*, 2.

[92] The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:449.

[93] *English Nativity Plays.*

[94] *Officium Pastorum: A Study of the Dramatic Development within the Liturgy of Christmas.*

Sänger rezitierte den Bericht des Evangelisten, ein anderer die Worte des Engels, und der Chor stimmte das Gloria in excelsis Deo an. Späterhin suchte man auch wohl ausführlichere Bearbeitungen, und je weniger der Evangelist daran gedacht hatte, Maria, Joseph, oder die Hirten redend einzuführen, desto eher glaubte man sich berechtigt, der Situation entsprechende Worte ihnen in den Mund zu legen. So entwickelte sich, namentlich in Spanien, aus den Weihnachtsspielen (nacimientos) die dramatische Kunst überhaupt."[95]

That there was sufficient dramatic dialogue in the liturgy for Christmas from the earliest times, is evident from the Liber Responsalis of Gregory the Great:

In vigilia Natalis Domini, in secundo nocturno.

Resp. Quem vidistis, Pastores, dicite? Annuntiate nobis in terris quis apparuit? Natum vidimus in choro angelorum Salvatorem Dominum.

Vs: Natus est nobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David.

Antiphonae in matutinis Laudibus.

Ant: Quem vidistis, pastores . . . . . (as above).

- - - -

And a trope from the Diurnale secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae[97] reads:

Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite; annunciate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?
Natum vidimus et choros angelorum collaudentes Dominum: Alleluia.

The complete form of the Quem vidistis trope was taken almost *verbotenus* from the liturgy. The type form is:

Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite. Annunciate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?
Infantem invenimus pannis involutum, et multitudinem militiae coelestis laudantium Dominum.
Dicite, quidnam vidistis, et annunciate Xpisti nativitatem.
Natum vidimus in choro angelorum Salvatorem Dominum (et choros angelorum collaudentes Dominum: Alleluia.)
Natus est hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David.

This trope is found in the following liturgical scenes or plays beside the ones mentioned above:

Breviarium Santonense, fourteenth century.
Liber responsalis Sangallensis, twelfth century.
Breviarium Chiemsense, fifteenth century.
Breviarium Sangallense, eleventh century.
Breviarium Bituricense, thirteenth century.
Troparium Novaliciense, eleventh century.
Breviarium Pictaviense, fourteenth century.
Breviarium Silvanectense, fourteenth century.
Breviarium Andegavense, fourteenth century.
Liber responsalis Bellovacensis, thirteenth-fourteenth century.
Breviarium Cadomense, thirteenth century.
Breviarium Bisuntinum, fifteenth century.
Breviarium Claromontense, fourteenth century.[98]

The time of the formation of this trope may precede that of the next to be discussed and go back to the ninth century.[99]

The Quem quaeritis Christmas trope is undoubtedly modeled after the Easter trope of like name, and its composition took place at a very early date, since the earliest text, that of St. Gall, dates from the eleventh century.[100] On the question whether this trope originated in St. Gall, see *Officium Pastorum*, by Professor Young, page 300, note. He ascribes it to a Troparium-Sequentiarium Martialense:

In Natale Domini sint parati duo diaconi, induti dalmaticis, retro altare dicentes:
Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?
Respondeant duo cantores in choro:
Salvatorem Christum Dominum, infantem pannis involutum, secundum sermonem angelicam.

[97] Du Meril, *Origines latines* . . . .
[98] *Cf.* Young, *Officium Pastorum*, 344.
[99] Page 348.
[100] Hemingway, viii.

Item diaconi:

Adest hic parvulus cum Maria, matre sua, de qua vaticinando Isaias propheta: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium. Et nunciate dicite quia natus est.

Tunc cantor dicat excelsa voce:

Alleluia, Alleluia, jam vere scimus Christum natum in terris, de quo canite omnes cum propheta dicentes:

Puer natus est . . . . . (The Christmas introit).

The connection with both the Easter trope and the Christmas liturgy is perfectly obvious. The form of the St. Gall or Paris trope is also its type form. It is found in the following liturgical plays in addition to the one mentioned above:

Troparium Sammaglorianum, twelfth century.
Troparium Sancti Aredii Lemovicensis, eleventh century.
Troparium Sancti Augustini Lemovicensis, eleventh century.
Troparium Martialense, eleventh century.
Graduale-Troparium Nivernense, twelfth century.
Troparium Moissiacense, eleventh century.
Troparium Oscense, eleventh-twelfth century.
Troparium Ravennatense, eleventh-twelfth century.
Troparium-Hymnarium Placentinum, twelfth century.
Troparium Vercellense, twelfth century.
Troparium Vercellense, eleventh century.
Troparium Vicense, twelfth-thirteenth century.
Processionale Vich, thirteenth-fourteenth century.
Troparium-Sequentiarium Martialense, eleventh century.
Graduale-Troparium Eporediense, eleventh century.
Troparium-Tonale-Prosarium Lemovicense, eleventh-twelfth century.
Graduale-Prosarium-Troparium Bobbiense, eleventh century.
Troparium Sancti Benedicti Mantuani, eleventh century.
Troparium Novaliciense, eleventh century.
Breviarium Claramontense, fifteenth century.
Breviarium Claramontense, fourteenth century.[101]

There is another trope, the Hodie cantandus est, by Tutilo, monk of St. Gall, end of the ninth century, which was used in a good many liturgical plays.[102] Since, however, Chambers says of this trope: "It is an example of some half a dozen dialogued Introit tropes, which might have, but did not, become the starting point for further dramatic evolution,"[103] and since Professor Young fully substantiates this statement, after his exhaustive study, a reference to his discussion will be sufficient at this point.

Pastores

A short review of the principal liturgical plays will enable us to form

[101] *Cf.* Young, *Officium Pastorum*, 300, note, and the entire discussion.

[102] Young, 363.

[103] *The Medieval Stage*, 2:9.

an idea as to the manner of their development from the type form to their most expanded liturgical growth. In the Officium Pastorum secundum usum ecclesiae cathedralis Claramontensis, Breviarium Claramontense, fourteenth century,[104] we have the shortest form of the play; it consists virtually of the Quem quaeritis trope, with the dialogue divided between the Pastores and two Pueri (to indicate Obstetrices?).

In the Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem[105] we have a complete play, with genuine drama. There is the appearance of the angel, with the Nolite timere, and then the Gloria in excelsis. There follows the Transeamus usque Bethlehem, then the Quem quaeritis at the Praesepe, and finally the Quem vidistis, representing the closing scene of the Christmas story.

In the Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem, Graduale Rothomagense, thirteenth century,[106] we have an extended play, containing the same scenes, but a good deal of additional text. After the Nolite timere and the Gloria in excelsis there is a hymn by the Pastores: Pax in terris nunciatur, followed by the Transeamus usque Bethleem. Then comes the Quem quaeritis, with an additional hymn of the Pastores: Salue, virgo singularis. After a great deal of responsorial material and the sequence Nato canunt omnia, the first part of the play ends. At the close of the Mass, we have the Quem uidistis pastores dicite and another hymn: Verbum patris hodie Processit ex virgine.

In the Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem, Ordinarium Rothomagense, fourteenth century,[107] the text remains practically unchanged, but the liturgical responses are far more exhaustive and the stage directions far more complete.

The same is true of the Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem, Ordinarium Rothomagense, fifteenth century.[108] The manuscript presupposes a general knowledge of the responses and rarely gives more than the cue words.

The Ordo in Nativitate Domini secundum usum Rothomagensem[109] offers hardly anything but stage directions to accompany the customary Christmas presentation.

The Office des Pasteurs, selon l'usage de Rouen, fourteenth century,[110] which is not mentioned by Professor Young in his notes, is not materially different from the other Rouen ordines.

As early as the twelfth century, then, the Quem quaeritis trope was

[104] Young, *Officium Pastorum*, 322.

[105] Young, 323.

[106] Young, 325.

[107] Young, 330.

[108] Young, 387.

[109] Young, 391.

[110] Du Meril, 147.

prefaced by the Angel scene with the Nolite timere and the Gloria in excelsis.[111] The expansion of the play by the addition of the trope Quem vidistis at the conclusion of Mass and by various hymns and responses taken from Libri Responsales and Antiphonaria was the most natural thing for the composers. Just how closely the Troparia and Ordinaria followed the liturgy, even in the embellishments of the texts, may be seen from the following table, which gives the origin of the various speeches.

(a) In principio erat verbum . . . . . Ant. in tertio noct. in Vigilia Oct. Dom. GR.[112]

(b) Verbum caro . . . . . Resp. in tertio noct. in vigilia nat. Dom. Ant. in evg. in vigil. natal. Domini. GR.

(c) Quem ethera et terra . . . . . Hymn.

(d) Pastores erant in regione eadem uigilantes . . . . . Lectio.

(e) Nolite timere . . . . . Lectio.

(f) Pax in terris nunciatur . . . . . Hymn.

(g) Gloria in excelsis Deo . . . . . Lectio. Resp. and Vs. in vigilia natalis Dom. ad Vesp. Ant. in evg. in vigilia natalis Dom. GR.

(h) Transeamus usque Bethlehem . . . . . Lectio.

(i) Quem quaeritis in praesepe . . . . .
Salvatorem Christum Dominum . . . . .
Adest hic parvulus cum Maria . . . . .
All. All. jam vere scimus . . . . . } Trope. Antiphonarium, eleventh century; *Annales archeologiques*. Cf. Du Meril.

(j) Puer natus est . . . . . Introit Christmas Mass. Resp. ad tertiam, in die nat. GR. Carmen, Daniel 1:334.

(k) Natus est nobis hodie salvator . . . . . Ant. in evg. vigil. natal. Dom. GR.

(l) Salve, virgo singularis . . . . . Hymn, *Annales archeologiques*.

(m) Tecum principium . . . . . Ant. in die natali, ad Vesp. GR.

(n) Quem vidistis pastores dicite . . . . .
Natum vidimus . . . . .
Dicite quidnam vidistis . . . . . } Trope, after Resp. in secundo noct. in vigil. nat. Dom., or Ant. in mat. laud. in vigil. natal. Dom. GR.

(o) Dominus regnavit . . . . . Psalm.

(p) Verbum patris hodie processit ex virgine . . . . . Hymn.

(q) Ecce completa sunt omnia . . . . .

(r) Gloria in altissimis . . . . .
Facta est hodie multitudo . . . . . } Trope for Christmas, cf. Young, page 350.

(s) Dominus dixit ad me . . . . . Psalm.

(t) Quare fremuerunt . . . . . Psalm in vigil. Nat. Dom. ad Vesp. GR.

(u) Genuit puerpera regem cui nomen aeternum . . . . . Ant. in matut. laudibus in vigil. natal. Dom. GR.

(v) Angelus ad pastores ait: Annuntio . . . . . Ant. in matut. laud. in vigil. nat. Dom. GR.

(w) Facta est cum angelo . . . . . Ant. in matut. laud. in vigil. natal. Dom. GR.

[111] Young, *A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen*, *Modern Philology*, 6:201.

[112] GR = *Liber Responsalis Gregorii Magni*, Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78.

(x) Parvulus filius hodie natus est nobis . . . . . Ant. in matut. laudibus in vigilia natal. Dom. GR.

(y) Nato Domino angelorum chorus canebat dicens: Salus Deo nostro . . . . Ant. in tertio noct. in vigil. Oct. Dom. GR.

(z) { Hodie cantandus est . . . . . / Quis est iste puer . . . . . / Hic enim est quem presagus . . . . . } Trope by Tutilo of St. Gall. Cf. Young, page 362.

The Transition Plays

The liturgical element did not cease to be present when the transitional stage of the early drama was reached, but persisted with great vigor. In the Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini[113] both the stage direction in the Birth scene: Nato puero, appeareat stella et incipiat chorus hanc antiphonam Hodie Christus natus est, and the Gloria in Excelsis . . . Facta est cum angelo multitudo coelestis, and especially the Pastores dicite . . . Infantem vidimus . . . point to definite liturgical influence, obviously through the medium of a liturgical play.

This influence is even more apparent in the Officium Pastorum of the Shrewsbury Fragments.[114] The scene opens with: Pastores erant in regione eadem uigilantes et custodientes gregem suam. Et ecce angelus Domini astitit juxta illos et timuerunt timore magno (d). Then the Star appears and the Angels sing, after which the shepherds discuss the apparition and the message. Then there is another liturgical tag: Transeamus usque Bethleem et uideamus hoc verbum . . . (h). In a note, Professor Manly refers to a line in the Adoration scene, which is an addition by a later hand: Saluatorem Christum, Dominum, infantem pannis involutum . . . (i). If nothing else, this line indicates the fact that the origin of the play was liturgical.

The Shepherd Plays

In the vernacular field, the liturgical element is not nearly so prominent, a circumstance due, no doubt, to the fact that the material was not taken *directly* from the liturgy, but from secondary sources, from the expanded liturgical plays. There was a Gebort Christi as a pageant in the Zerbster Prozession,[115] as well as in the poem Von der Beschaffung diser Welt,[116] both of which show decided liturgical influence. In the Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht,[117] the liturgical influence

[113] Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80.

[114] Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays;* Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, xxviii.

[115] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.

[116] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[117] J. Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

is seen in the Annunctio vobis gaudium magnum . . . (e) of the Angel scene, and in the Quem vidistis pastores dicite . . . (n) of the Adoration scene. In the Egerer Spiel[118] the Gloria in excelsis was sung in the Nativity scene. After the announcement of the angel, the shepherds sing: Nunc angelorum gloria hominibus resplenduit, in mundo novi partus gaudium virgo mater produxit, et sol verus in tenebris illuxit. After the Adoration "transeunt de puero cantando: Ein kindelin so lobelich ist uns geporen hiute," which is a translation of the second stanza of the Latin Christmas hymn: Dies est laetitiae. In the summary of the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel[119] this part is unfortunately omitted.

In the French play Pastorale sur la Naissance de Jesus Christ[120] the order of the later liturgical plays is observed and the Gloria in excelsis appears in the conventional place.

In the English field, the York Plays seem to be the ones in which the evidence of influence by liturgical plays is most apparent. Even in the Birth scene, the prophecy of Balaam is introduced, and the old corrupt version of "between per bestis two" is referred to, a prophecy ascribed to Abacuc. This seems to show influence of the Prophetae. In the Angels and the Shepherds, the prophecies of Hosea, Isaiah, and Balaam are referred to in the first scene. The other scenes, the announcement of the angel and the adoration, show great similarity to the Shrewsbury Fragments, the last speech of Tertius Pastor agreeing with that text, practically word for word, as Skeat, Waterhouse, and Manly have pointed out.

In the Shearmen and Tailors Pageant of Coventry there is strong evidence for influence of the Stella play, both in the appearance of the star and in the presenting of gifts. However, the Gloria in excelsis and the Announcement of the Angel: Hyrdmen hynd, Drede ye nothyng . . calls to mind the Nolite timere . . . (e).[121]

In the Chester Plays (VII) the liturgical influence is still evident, although only in a remote way. The announcement of the angel: Nolite timere . . . (e), the Gloria in excelsis . . . (g), and the Transeamus usque Bethleem . . . (h) seem to have been the liturgical outline tags which persisted for the longest time, as the Shrewsbury Fragments show. In the Play of the Shepherds of Chester there is a stage direction: Tunc cantet angelus, Gloria in excelsis . . . (g). The shepherds, after their consultation, exclaim: Now wende we fourth to Bethlehem . . . (h), and afterwards: To Bethlem take we the waye . . . (h).

In the Coventry Mysteries (XVI) we find the same persistence of the

[118] K. Bartsch, *Germania*, 3:267.

[119] *Germania*, 4:338.

[120] Du Meril, 393.

[121] Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, Early English Text Society*, 87 Extra Series: 7.

liturgical element. The play opens: "Angelus ad pastores dicit Gloria in excelsis Deo . . . (g).

Joye to God that sytt in hevyn,
And pes to man on erthe grownde!
A chylde is born benethe the levyn,
Thurwe hym many ffolke xul be unbownde." . . . . . (e).

After a discussion among the shepherds, in which the Prophetae influence is evident, the Gloria in excelsis is sounded for the second time, whereupon the Transeamus is brought out in the speech of Secundus Pastor:

Lete us ffolwe with alle oure myght . . . . . (h).
Tunc pastores cantabunt Stella caeli extirpavit. Quo facto, ibunt ad quaerendum Christum.

After the Adoration Joseph admonishes the shepherds:

Herdys on hylle, Bethe not stylle,
But seyth ȝuor wylle To many a man,

which reminds one strongly of the Dicite quidnam vidistis (n) of the liturgical plays.

There still remains the consideration of the Towneley Mysteries (XII, XIII). Both of these plays, in spite of the great difference between them in other respects, show liturgical influence. The Prima pagina pastorum has the Prophetae subject-matter, as shown above. But beside this evident influence, there is other material urging the same conclusion. The Angelus announces:

Herkyn, hyrdes, awake, Gyf lovyng ye shall . . . . . (d.e.).
– –
That chyld is borne At Bethelem this morne,
Ye shalle fynde hym beforne Betwix two bestys.

There is Stella influence in the last part of this play.
In the Secunda pagina pastorum the angel's message is again prominent:

Angelus cantat Gloria in excelsis (g): postea dicat
Ryse, hyrd men heynd, for now is he borne
That shall take fro the feynd that Adam had lorne . . . . .
– –
At Bedlem go se, Ther Lyges that fre
In a cryb fulle poorely Betwyx two bestys.

The Transeamus . . . (h) also seems to be expressed in the lines:

So we now let us fare: the place is us nere,
I am redy and yare: go we in fere . . . . .

At the close, the Stella influence is again apparent in the presenting of gifts.

The following conclusions would seem to be warranted from the material offered here: The Latin liturgical Pastores plays were based entirely

upon the liturgy, the tropes being composed at the suggestion of the responses, often with the text of the services. The construction of the vernacular and cycle plays shows the prominence of the ancient liturgical outline, which not even extraneous subject-matter has obliterated.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI AND THE RACHEL PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Officium Stellae, selon Denis.
Office des Mages, Limoges.
Office de l'Etoile, Rouen.
Officium of Besançon.
Officium Stellae, ad usum Rothomagensem.
Officium Stellae, Rouen, fifteenth century.
Officium Stellae, Nevres I.
Officium Stellae, Nevres II.
Officium Stellae, eleventh century, probably Nevres.
Mystere de l'Adoration des Mages, Freising-Munich.
Dreikönigsspiel von Straszburg.
Officium Stellae, Rouen, twelfth century.
Officium Stellae, Einsiedeln, twelfth century.
Officium Stellae, Vatican, Rome.
Ordo Rachel, eleventh century, Freising-Munich.
Massacre des saints Innocents, Orleans.
Ordo, Festum Infantum, Rouen, fifteenth century.
Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini.
Mastricht Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel.
Egerer Spiel.
Play of the Weavers of Coventry.
Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Plays, VIII, IX, X.
Ludus Coventriae, XVII, XIX.
Towneley Mysteries, XIV, XV, XVI.
York Plays, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

The Play of the Three Kings, or the Herod, Magi, and Stella Play, as it is also called, has received the full interest of investigators. Chambers,[122] Creizenach,[123] and others have given complete, though brief, accounts of the play and its development. Anz[124] has done the most exhaustive work on the subject, tracing the relation between the liturgy and the developed plays from the type form to the most expanded Latin drama. His work has been supplemented, so far as texts and additional notes are concerned, by Professor Young.[125]

Of the origin of the play, Anz says: "Am Epiphanientage fand bei

[122] *The Medieval Stage*, 2:45.

[123] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 55.

[124] *Die lateinischen Magierspiele.*

[125] A Contribution to the History of the Liturgical Drama at Rouen, *Modern Philology*, 6:201; *Officium Stellae*, *Modern Language Notes*, 27: March.

der Messe eine 'Oblatio trium regum ad altare' statt, der wohl eine kurze Prozession im Chorraum selbst voraufging. Unter bestimmten Einflüssen wurde sodann diese Feier in die frühe Morgenstunde, an den Schlusz der Nokturnfeier, verlegt," page 34. And of its development: "Die Epiphanienoblationsfeier, die mit dem Offertorium Reges Tharsis eng verbunden war, wurde durch Ausdehnung der ursprünglich nur auf den Chorraum beschränkten Prozession von ihrer ursprünglichen Stelle verdrängt und zu einer Matutinfeier gemacht. Hier wirkten offensichtlich ein parallele Weihnachtsmatutinfeiern und gaben dem Offizium die Gestalt, die uns im Typus I vorliegt," page 42.

The Epiphany Liturgy

The liturgy for Epiphany offered not merely suggestions for a play for that day, but also a great deal of material for the dialogue. The Offertory "Reges Tharsis et Insulae munera offerent, reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent, alleluia" occurs also as a response and as an antiphon, both in the second and in the third nocturn. And not merely that, but the principal scenes are also carried by the responses. The coming and the inquiry of the Kings is given:

> Magi veniunt ab oriente jerosolymam quaerentes et dicentes: Ubi est qui natus est, cujus stellam vidimus, et venimus adorare Dominum. (Resp. in secundo noct.)

Their discussion with Herod is indicated:

> Interrogabat magos Herodes: Quod signum vidistis super natum Regem? Stellam magnam fulgentem, cujus splendor illuminat mundum; et nos cognovimus, et venimus adorare Dominum (Resp. in secundo noct.).

The continuation of the journey and the reappearance of the star is emphasized:

> Stella quam viderant Magi in Oriente antecedebat eos, donec venirent ad locum ubi puer erat. Videntes autem eam gavisi sunt gaudio magno. Et intrantes domum invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius, et procidentes adoraverunt eum (Resp. in primo noct.).

And the antiphons in Evangelio add:

> Stella ista sicut flamma coruscat, et Regem regum Deum demonstrat . . . . .
> Ab oriente venerunt magi in Bethlehem adorare Dominum; et apertis thesauris suis pretiosa munera obtulerunt, aurum sicut regi magno, thus sicut (Domino vero), myrrha sepultura eius, alleluia.

In one case (Antiph. in matutinis laudibus) it is even stated:

> Magi viderunt stellam, dixerunt ad invicem: hoc signum magni Regis est, eamus et inquiramus eum, et offeramus ei munera, aurum, thus, et myrrham.

Officium Stellae

With so much of the liturgy in mind, the type form of the Magi Play has a familiar aspect. The author showed some originality, but hardly went farther than to give part of the story in dialogue form. The type form, which agrees in the main with what Anz conceived it to be, has the following contents:

Hymn: Stella fulgore nimio rutilat, Quae regem regum natum demonstrat,
Quem venturum olim prophetiae signaverunt.
Magi: Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera: aurum, thus, et myrrham.
Ecce stella in oriente praevisa . . . . .
Obstetrices: Qui sunt hii, qui, stella duce . . . . .
Magi: Nos sumus, quos cernitis, reges Tharsis . . . . .
Obstetrices: Ecce puer adest quem quaeritis . . . . .
Magi: Salve, princeps saeculorum.
Suscipe, rex, aurum . . . . .
Tolle thus, tu vere Deus . . . . .
Myrrham signum sepulturae.
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Impleta sunt omnia . . . . .
Tria sunt munera . . . . .
Angelus: Ite viam remeantes aliam . . . . .

This type form, according to Anz, illustrates the first stage of the real play. There were simpler forms or presentations of the Adoration scene which probably represent the first steps toward real drama. Of the Limoges Office des Mages[126] Chambers says: "The text of this version stands by itself," page 45. It is shorter even than the earliest Rouen version:

Hymn: O quam dignis celebranda, dies ista laudibus . . . . .

The oblation is given in rhymed form:

Aurum, primo; thus, secundo; myrrham dante tertio.
Aurum, regem; thus, coelestem; mori notat unctio.
Magi: Hoc signum magni regis.
Eamus, inquiramus eum et offeremus ei munera: aurum, thus, et myrrham.
Hymn: Nuntium vobis fero de supernis . . . . .
Ant: In Bethlehem natus est rex coelorum . . . . .

Another isolated version which, in a way, is even more odd, is the Officium Stellae, selon Denis.[127] It is a versified form of the oblation scene, either based upon a hymn of that kind, or composed with the suggestion of that part of the liturgy in mind, as is shown by the lines:

Haec regem regum monstrat.
Aurum sit regi! Domino thus! Myrrha hominique!

[126] Du Meril, 151.

[127] Codices manuscripti theologici, Du Meril, 151, note.

This play has recently been investigated, with the others of the series, in the Poema Biblicum of Onulphus, by Professor Young.

If nothing else, these isolated Stella plays go to show that the liturgy was the inspiration and the chief source of the dramatic art of that time.

Aside from these two plays, the type form given above was used and expanded in the following extant texts:

Office de l'Etoile, selon l'usage de Rouen, Johannis Abrincensis Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis.[128] This contains the type form, as given above, with the single addition of Interrogabat magos, which introduces Herod.

Die Feier von Besançon.[129] After the introduction with the hymns Novae geniturae and Nos respectu gratiae, the play is really no more than recitative dialogue of the Epiphany Gospel, according to the liturgy of the day.

Officium Stellae, Processionale ad usum Rothomagensem, thirteenth century.[130] This is a fragment, containing only the oblation scene, according to the type form. Professor Young writes: "Folio 3, which certainly contained the first part of this dramatic office, is torn out."

Officium Stellae, Rouen, fifteenth century.[131] It contains the type form with the addition of the Interrogabat magos. Gaste, *Les Drames Liturgiques de la Cathedrale de Rouen*, 49-52, and Coussemaker, *Les Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, 242-249, present the same text.

Officium Stellae of Nevres I, 1060.[132] This play, in the form in which we have it, contains only the Nuntius and the Scribe scenes.

The second Magi Play of Nevres[133] contains the type form with expanded Herod scene, the Nuntius becoming very prominent and the Interview complete.

Officium Stellae, eleventh century, probably of Nevres.[134] There is a small extension in the Herod scene, the Magi answering Herod's Regem quem quaeritis natum esse, quo signo didicistis . . . . with the words, Illum natum esse didicimus in oriente stella monstrante; whereupon Herod says: Ite, et de puero diligenter investigate . . . .

The fragment in *Biblioteque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, 34 (1909): 296-297, has not been accessible.

Mystere de l'Adoration des Mages, Freising-Munich, eleventh century.[135] The play opens with a short Pastores scene: Pastores, annuntio . . . . Transeamus . . . . Gloria in excelsis . . . . The usual

[128] Du Meril, 153.

[129] Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 142-145.

[130] Young, *Modern Philology*, 6:212.

[131] Young, 6:220-1.

[132] Romania, 4:2, 3. Anz, 146.

[133] Romania, 4:3-6. Anz, 146.

[134] Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:296.

[135] Du Meril, 156.

parts follow, till the introductory Herod scene, which has been extended considerably; the Internuntius announces the coming of the Magi:

Salve, rex Judaeorum . . . . .
Quid rumoris affers . . . . ,

the Nuntius conferring with the Magi. Then follows the Regem quem . . . . . with its answer, the consultation with the scribes, their answer: Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum libris . . . . . Bethleem non es minima. After the consultation, the Armiger announces the Ite, de puero diligenter . . . . Next comes a scene with the Pastores, dicite, quidnam vidistis . . . , after which follows the adoration of the Magi and the customary ending. It may be noted here that the liturgy for Epiphany itself offers occasion for the introduction of the Pastores (Resp. in tertio nocturno.)

Officium Stellae, Troparium-Prosarium, thirteenth century, Sicily.[136] The play opens in the usual manner. There is a Venite adoremus after the opening hymn. In the Herod scene, the question appears: Si illum regnare creditis, dicite nobis. The answer is: Hunc regnare fatentes . . . . , accompanied by an explanation of the meaning of the gifts. After the scribes have been called and have stated the prophecy, the play continues in the usual manner, with the one notable difference that the Ecce stella is in verse form.

Mystere de l'Adoration des Mages, Orleans-Fleury, twelfth century.[137] There is a complete Pastores at the opening of this play: Nolite timere . . . . . Gloria . . . . . Transeamus . . . . . Quem quaeritis . . . . . Salvatorem Christum . . . . . Adest parvulus . . . . . Salve rex . . . . . Venite, venite . . . . . In the remainder of the play there are only two additions: in the Quem vidistis, the hymn Quae non praevalent propria . . . . . , and at the end Gaudete fratres, Christus nobis natus est.

Dreikönigsspiel aus Straszburg, Antiphonarium, Straszburg, 1200.[138] Here appears the hymn Hostis Herodes impie. The play is like the other texts, with the exception of the ending, where the Armiger comes in with the announcement: Delusus es, Domine . . . . ; whereupon Rex flies into a rage: Incendium meum ruina exstinguam.

The text in *Melanges d'Archeologie d'histoire et de Litterature*, 1 (1847): 258-260, has not been accessible.

Officium Stellae, Rouen, twelfth century.[139] This is the most expanded version of the Stella Play. After the customary opening follows a choral antiphon: Haec primum orientales fines collustrans, ... The

[136] Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:325.

[137] Du Meril, 163.

[138] Lange, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 32:412-3.

[139] Young, *Modern Philology*, 6:208-211.

scene of the interview between Herod and the Magi is carried out in detail. When the visitors are brought before the king, two of them address him in a meaningless jargon, after which the conversation takes its usual course. They leave for Bethlehem, meet the Shepherds, are challenged by the Obstetrices, bring their gifts, and receive the command from the angel Ite, viam remeantes aliam . . . . . Then follows the announcement of the Internuntius: Delusus es . . . . . The son of Herod gives the advice to kill all the children of Bethlehem, in which he is seconded by the Duces. The manuscript ends in the middle of the sentence, the last part being lost.

Officium Stellae, Einsiedeln, eleventh to twelfth century.[140] This is a fragment, beginning in the Pastores scene. It has the Obstetrices, the Adoration and the Oblation, and the Wrath of Herod.

Officium Stellae, printed by Hartmann, *Über das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, 43-46, and Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Laon*, thirteenth century, 389-394, are not accessible.

Officium Stellae, Vatican Library, Rome.[141] A fragmentary text, which contains all the principal parts of the play, from the Stella fulgore . . . . . to the Ite, viam remeantes aliam. The fragment seems to close with the wrath of Herod.

This review of the plays yields the following fully expanded type of the Stella or Magi Play.

Introduction

Magi: Stella fulgore nimio rutilat . . . . .
Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum . . . . .

Arrival of Magi

Nuntius: Assunt nobis, domine, tres viri ignoti . . . . .
Rex: Ad nos vocentur ut eorum a nobis sermones audiantur.
Nuntius: Rex vos vocat ut quem queratis . . . . .
Armiger: Vive rex in aeternum.
Rex: Quid rumoris habes?
Armiger: En magi veniunt . . . . .
Rex: Ante venire jubeo . . . . .
Armiger: Regia vos mandata vocant . . . . .

Interview with Herod

Magi: Salve, princeps Judaeorum . . . . .
Rex: Quae sit causa viae, qui vos . . . . .
Magi: Rex est causa viae . . . . .
Rex: Regem quem quaeritis natum esse quo signo . . . . .

[140] Anz, 152

[141] Young, *Modern Language Notes*, 27: March.

Magi: Illum natum esse didicimus in Oriente . . . . .
Rex: Si illum regnare creditis, dicite nobis . . . . .
Magi: Hunc regnare fatentes cum mysticis muneribus . . . . . auro regem thure sacerdotem, myrrha mortalem.

Scribe Scene

Rex: Huc symmistae mei . . . . .
Nuntius: Vos legis periti a rege vocati . . . . .
Rex: O vos scribae interrogati dicite . . . . .
Scribae: Vidimus, domine, in prophetarum lineis . . . . .
Chorus: Bethlehem, non es minima . . . . .
Rex: Ite et de puero diligenter investigate . . . . .

Pastores

Magi: Ecce stella in oriente praevisa . . . . .
Magi: Pastores dicite, quidnam vidistis . . . . .
Pastores: Infantem vidimus pannis involutum . . . . .

Obstetrices

Obstetrices: Qui sunt hi, quos stella ducit . . . . .
Magi: Nos sumus, quos cernitis . . . . .
Obstetrices: Ecce puer adest . . . . . Iam properate . . . . .

Adoration and Oblation

Magi: Salve, princeps saeculorum.
Suscipe, rex, aurum.
Tolle thus, tu vere deus.
Myrrham signum sepulturae.
Angelus: Impleta sunt omnia . . . . .
Ite, viam remeantes aliam . . . . .

Wrath of Herod

Nuntius: Delusus es, domine . . . . .
Rex: Incendium meum ruina exstinguam . . . . .

The expansion proceeded in this manner: The Herod scene, the interview, was added first, then the Scribe scene, the Wrath and minor additions, then the Pastores. The Rachel Play was the natural sequel of this story, as the discussion will show.

That the greater number of these scenes have their source in the liturgy, and that all of them have some connection with the liturgy, may be seen from the following table:[142]

[142] GR = *Liber Responsalis Gregorii Magni*, Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78.

(a) O quam dignis celebranda dies ista laudibus . . . . . Hymn for Epiphany.
(b) Venite, venite adoremus Dominum, quia ipse est salvator noster . . . . . Invitat. Antiphonar. Roman.
(c) Stella fulgore nimio rutilat . . . . . Ant., Anz, page 25, note 2. Hymn after resp.
Stella fulgens in oriente. In tertio noct. Epiph. GR.–Ant. Epiph.
Stella istud sicut flamma coruscat, et regem regum Deum demonstrat. GR.
(d) Regem quem quaeritis . . . . . Quod signum . . . . . Resp. in secundo noct. Epiph. GR.
(e) Illum natum esse didicimus . . . . . After resp. in secundo noct. Epiph. GR.
(f) Rex, aurum; tolle thus, tu vere Deus; myrrham, signum sepulturae . . . . Resp. in tertio noct. Epiph. Ant. in Evg. Epiph. GR.
(g) Tria sunt munera pretiosa quae obtulerunt . . . . . Resp. in tertio noct. Epiph. GR.
(h) Hoc signum magni regis . . . . . Ant. in matutin. laudibus. Epiph. GR.
(i) Eamus, inquiramus eum . . . . . Ant. in matut. laudibus. Epiph. GR.
(j) Nuntium vobis fero de supernis . . . . . Hymn for Epiph. Daniel, *Thes. hymnol.*, 1:235.
(k) In Bethlehem natus est rex coelorum . . . . . Ant. Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum.*
(l) Vidimus, domine, in prophetarum lineis . . . . .
(m) Bethleem, non es minima . . . . . } Addition after Epiph. Gospel.
(n) Ite, et de puero diligenter . . . . .
(o) Quae non praevalent propria magnitudine . . . . . Sequence, Epiphany . . . . . Clichtovaeus, *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum*, Paris 1576; Daniel 5: 180.
(p) Qui sunt hi . . . . . } Obstetrices scene.
Nos sumus quos cernitis . . . . . }
Ecce puer adest . . . . . }
(q) Ite, viam remeantes aliam . . . . . After Ant. in laudibus, per Oct. Epiph. GR.
(r) Magi veniunt . . . . . } Ant. in secundo noct. Epiph. GR.
Cum natus . . . . . }
Interrogabat magos . . . . . }
(s) Ecce stella in oriente praevisa . . . . . Ecce stella, et ecce stella . . . . . Hymn, Clichtovaeus. Sequence ad Epiph. Dom. Prosarium Lemovicense.
(t) Impleta sunt omnia . . . . . Ant. *Annales archeologiques.*
(u) Gaudete fratres . . . . .
(v) Incendium meum ruina . . . . . After Sallust.

Rachel Play

The connection of the Rachel Play or the Slaughter of the Innocents with the Magi Play is a most natural one. The wrath of Herod is expressed at the end of the Magi in the most forcible terms, and he receives the advice to put all the children of Bethlehem to death. The carrying-out of this plan would follow in the sequel, and that sequel was already contained in an office for the Feast of the Innocents, the 28th of December.

Chambers says[143] that the Rachel was taken up into the Stella just as was the Pastores. Creizenach says:[144] "Es lag nahe, die Darstellung der Ereignisse des Weihnachtstages und des Tages der unschuldigen Kinder mit diesem Feste (Epiphanias) zu verbinden, die Anbetung der Hirten als ein Vorspiel voranzustellen, den bethlehemitischen Kindermord als unmittelbare Folge anzuschlieszen und so die Ereignisse der Weihnachtszeit zu einer zyklischen Darstellung abzurunden."

There was no lack of material in the liturgy for a play of the Innocents. Both the story and the prophecies and other Scripture passages referring to the children and the innocent dead are contained in the order of services for the Festum Innocentium. The Rachel Play of Limoges, eleventh century, "hardly more than a trope" (Chambers), containing a short lament of Rachel and the words of the consoling angel, was undoubtedly based on the Antiphonae in Matutinis Laudibus and found its place in the services there. Rachel, after the words of the prophet Jeremiah, personified all the women of Bethlehem, the city of Rachel (Gen. 35:19, 20) in their lament.

The type form of the play was probably the following:

The Flight into Egypt

Joseph, Joseph, surge . . . . .
Quod prophetica dudum vox insonuit . . . . .
Aegypte, noli flere, quia dominator . . . . .

The Command and the Slaughter

Rex: Rex novus ut pereat regisque furor requiescat . . . . .
Internunt: In Bethleem natum probat . . . . .
Hymn: Hostis Herodes impie . . . . .

The Lament

Consolatrix: Quid tu, virgo mater, ploras . . . . .
Rachel: Heu, Heu, quod tu me incusas . . . . .
Haud flendus est iste . . . . .

There have been only two texts, properly speaking, of the Rachel Play published till now. The first one is the Ordo Rachel, eleventh century, Freising-Munich.[145] After the announcement of the angel to the shepherds and the adoration there followed the Quidnam vidistis and then the play proper as given in the type form above.

Massacre des saints Innocents, Orleans.[146] After the introduction:

[143] Chambers, 2:44.
[144] Chambers, 2:55.
[145] Du Meril, 171.
[146] Du Meril, 175.

Quam gloriosum est regnum . . . . . Emitte agnum, Domine . . . . . Super solium David . . . . , there follows the warning to Joseph, the Aegypte noli flere, the announcement that the Magi have failed to return, and the Incendium meum ruina exstinguam. Then the Armiger proceeds to the slaughter, while the innocents sing: Salve agnus Dei . . . . . and Quare non defendis . . . . . The lament of Rachel is very long, reminding one of the extensive Planctus of the medieval period. After the speeches given in the type form there is an extra Anxiatus in me . . . , which substantiates the theory of a connection with the Planctus poetry, and a Sinite parvulos . . . . . After the hymn: O Christe, quantum Patri exercitum . . . . . there follows the command Joseph fili David, revertere in terram Judaeam . . . . , and finally the Antiphon Gaude Maria virgo.

Ordo, Festum Infantum, Rouen, fifteenth century.[147] This is a very complete ordo for the festival and contains all the liturgical source material, but it does not contain a developed play.

How closely the authors of the plays followed the liturgy, may be seen here also from a table comparing the plays and the liturgy:

(a′) Joseph, Joseph, surge . . . . . Lectio in Festum Innoc. According to Gueranger[148] this warning to Joseph had a prominent place in the liturgy of that day.

(b′) Quod prophetica dudum vox insonuit, Angelica tuba nunc admonuit . . . . Hymn.

(c′) Aegypte, noli flere . . . . . Ant. Antiphonarium, twelfth century.

(d′) (Slaughter.) Herodes iratus . . . . . Ant. Evg. Epiph. Sarum Breviary.

(e′) Sub altare audivi voces occisorum . . . . . Resp. in primo noct. GR.

(f′) Et cum eo centum quadraginta quattuor millia, habentes nomen eius . . . . Trope on the Epistle of Innocents Day, thirteenth century. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, page 151.

(g′) Hostis Herodes impie . . . . . Hymn for Epiphany. Daniel, *Thes. hymnol.*, 1:147.

(h′) (Lament.) Vox in Rama audita est . . . . . Ant. in matut. laudibus, Festum Innocentium. GR.

A troped Lament in Gautier, 168:

O dulces filii, quos nunc progenui,
Olim dicta mater, quod nomen tenui.
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Heu! mihi miserae, cum possim vivere,
Cum natos coram me video perdere,
Atque lacerare, parum detruncare.
Herodes impius, furore repletus,
Nimium superbus perdit meos partus.

(i′) *Angelus:* Noli, Rachel, deflere pignora . . . . .

(j′) Quid tu, virgo mater, ploras, Rachel formosa . . . . . Ant. eleventh century, Daniel 2:30,

[147] Young, *Modern Philology*, 6:216.

[148] *The Liturgical Year*, 1:330.

De uno martyre; a sequence composed by Notker, No. 432, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*; 11:267.

(k′) Haud flendus est iste . . . . . Ant. in Psalm.
Quam gloriosum est regnum . . . . . Ant. in Psalm.
Emitte agnum, domine . . . . . Ant. in Psalm.
Super solium David . . . . . Ant. in Psalm.

(l′) Salve agnus Dei, salve qui tollis . . . . . Ant.

(m′) Quare non defendis sanguinem . . . . . Resp. in primo noct. in vigil. Innoc. GR.

(n′) Anxiatus in me spiritus . . . . . Planctus Ant.

(o′) Sinite parvulos . . . . . Ant. in Evg. Die Innoc. GR.

(p′) Joseph, Joseph, fili David, revertere in terram Judaeam . . . . . From Gospel . . . . .

(q′) Gaude, Maria virgo; cunctas haereses sola interimisti . . . . . Ant. of Magnificat.

The liturgical influence which was so strong in the Latin church plays, both in the Magi and in the Rachel, persisted also in the transitional and vernacular plays.

In the Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini[149] there are the following scenes that come into consideration here: The coming of the three Kings, the interview with Herod, the adoration of the Magi, the slaughter of the Innocents, the flight into Egypt, the falling of the idols. The Pastores dicite . . . . . Infantem vidimus pannis involutum . . . . . mentioned above is in this play a dialogue between the Magi and the Pastores, thus fitting in exactly with the later development of the plays. The question of the Magi upon their arrival at Jerusalem is: Ubi est qui natus est . . . . . They affirm: Regem natum quaerimus de quo stella loquitur . . . . . During the interview they state: Stella nova radiat eius ortus nuntia, cui mundus obediet, et qui regnat omnia, et nil stare poterit absque huius gratia. Nos ad illum tendimus haec ferentes munera. Herod answers: Ite, ad nos postea maturantes reditum. After the adoration the Magi receive the warning: Nolite redire ad Herodem. In spite of the corruption of this play the influence of the liturgical plays is not absent.

The Herod Plays

There was a pageant of Die heiligen drei konnige and one of Herodes in the Zerbster Prozession,[150] as also in the poem Von der Beschaffung diser Welt,[151] which is certainly based upon the liturgy. In the Egerer Spiel[152] there was a Magi with an adoration and oblation of "Gold, Weih-

[149] Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80.

[150] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.

[151] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[152] Bartsch, *Germania*, 3:267.

rauch, und Myrrhen" by the three kings, Melchior, Balthasar, Caspar. There was also the Flight into Egypt, the Slaughter, and Rachel. In the Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht[153] the liturgical tags have been preserved quite definitely. In the Magi there is

Hoc signum magni regis est . . . . .
Ubi est qui natus est rex Judaeorum?
Vive rex in aeternum.
Salutat vos gratia mea.
Vidimus stellam eius in Oriente vere . . . . .

After the adoration, the Angelus appears:

Auditi verbum Domini gentes . . . . .

The fact that the Magi have returned to their country is reported to Herod, who gives the command for the slaughter. The angel warns Joseph: Descende in Aegyptum. The slaughter takes place. Angel: Tolle puerum et matrem eius . . . . .

In the English field, the persistence of the liturgical element is very marked. In the Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry,[154] in the introduction to the play proper (Purification), there is a dialogue of Profetae, in the course of which they discuss the several events leading up to the Presentation. In speaking of the offering of the Magi, Primus Profeta gives the liturgical meaning of the presents:

The furst wasse gold, as most myghte kyng;
The seycond wasse myr, asse prist of pristis beyng;
The thryd wasse incense, in tokyning of byrring (page 37). (f)

In the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry[155] Herod and the Slaughter is a very complete play. After the opening scene with the boasting of Herod, the Magi enter. The opening speech,

Now blessid be God of his swet sonde,
For yondur a feyr bryght star I do see!
Now ys he comon, vs a-monge,
Asse the profet seyd that ytt schuld be,

as well as the first lines of the other two kings remind very strongly of the Stella fulgore nimio rutilat, Et Regem regum natum demonstrat (c). The scenes follow as in the liturgical play. After they have left Jerusalem, the kings pray for guidance, whereupon one of them exclaims:

Yonder, brothur, I see the star, Wherby I kno he ys nott far . . . . ,

which is undoubtedly the Ecce Stella (s). In the adoration scene the liturgical element appears plainly again:

[153] Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.
[154] Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*.
[155] Craig, 16.

A cupe-full (of) golde here I haue the broght,
In toconyng thow art with-out pere.
– –
In toconyng of prestehod and dygnete of offece,
To the I offur a cupe-full of in-sence,
For yt be-hovith the to haue soch sacrefyce.
– –
I haue broght the myre for mortalete,
In to-cunyng thow schalt mankynd restore
To lyff be thy deyth apon a tre. (f).

The remaining scenes also follow the sequence of the liturgical plays.

In the Digby Plays[156] "Candlemas Day & the kyllynge of the children of Israell, anno domini 1512," there is influence of the Slaughter of the Innocents and Rachel Play. The source must have been one similar to that of the Benediktbeuern play, because the falling of the idols is included after the "O Joseph, ryse vp, and loke thu tarry nought" (Joseph surge) and the flight into Egypt (a′).

In the Chester Plays there is not only the evident influence of the Prophetae (VIII, The Three Kings) and the same sequence and cue words as in the liturgical plays, but there are other definite indications of liturgical influence. In the Offering and Return of the Three Kings (IX) there is:

The starre I see it come againe,
That was out of our sighte,

in the place of the Ecce stella in Oriente praevisa (s). The significance of the presents is also given according to the liturgy:

Kings of Jewes we shall hym call,
Theirfore of me have he shall,
That am his subjecte and his thralle,
Golde, or I passe.
And seithe he hath in hym godheade,
Me thinkes, as eate I breade,
Incense to geve hym through my reade,
In name of sacrifice.
– –
And myrre is good me thinkes also,
Seith he for man will suffer woe,
And dye on roode tree.
– –
A kinges power, south to saie,
By goulde heare in my hande;
And for his godhead lasteth aye,
Incense we must geve hym to daie;
And bodelye death also, in good faye,
By myrre I understande. (f)

[156] Furnivall, *Digby Mysteries*.

The sequence of the other incidents, including those of the Slaughter of the Innocents (X) is the same as in the liturgical plays. The Joseph surge is again prominent in "Joseph, arise, and that anon," (a′) and there is a final antiphon,

Ex Egipto vocavi filium meum, et salvum faciet populum meum.

In the Coventry Mysteries, the Scribe scene is lacking (The Adoration of the Magi, XVII), the Magi supplying the information from the prophecy of Balaam. The liturgical influence persists in the oblation scene:

Gold I gyffe the in this halle,
And know the for my Lorde.
Sote encense I offere to the,
None so mekylle of myght.
Byttyr myre to the I brynge,
And byttyr deth xalle be thi endyng. (f).

In the Slaughter of the Innocents (XIX) the passages: "Awake, Joseph, and take thi wyff," (a′) as well as the lament remind strongly of the liturgical plays.

In the Towneley Plays the liturgical influence is found in structure as well as in contents. Balaam's star prophecy is easily accounted for. The speech of Primus Rex:

A lordynges! behold the lyght
Of yonde starne, with bemys bright,
Forsothe I saghe never sich a sight
In no-kyns land;
A starne thus, aboute mydnyght,
So bright shynand . . . . ,

seems to be a rendering of Stella fulgore nimio rutilat, (c) especially since Tercius Rex explains:

Yond starne betokyns, welle wote I,
The byrthe of a prynce, syrs, securly,
That shawys welle the prophecy
That it so be,

which certainly points to Quae Regem regum natum demonstrat, Quem venturum olim prophetia signaverat. (c)
The kings speak of the meaning of their gifts:

In tokyn that he kyng shalbe (gold) . . . . .
– –
I bryng rekyls, the sothe to say . . . . .
In tokyn that he God veray,
Withouten ende.
– –
In tokyn that he shalbe ded,
This myrr I bryng, (f).

also from the liturgy.

In the Nuncius scene and the interview with Herod, the dialogue of the liturgical plays is the basis, standing out very prominently from the rest. The doctors are then summoned and bring the answer:

Certys, sir, lo, here fynd I
well wretyn in a prophecy,
how that profett Isay . . . . .
- -
Micheas the profett, withouten nay,
How that he tellys I shalle you say,
In Bedlem, land of Juda . . . . .

Leaving Jerusalem, the kings again behold the star:

Behold yon starne has made shynyng,
Syrs, securly (Ecce stella). (s).

They make their offering:

In tokyn that thou art oure kyng
And shalbe ay,
Resayf this gold to myn offeryng . . . . .
- -
ffor thou art godis son most of myght,
And all weldand,
I bryng the rekyls, as is right . . . . .
- -
In tokyn that thou dede shalbe
By kyndly skyll,
To thy grauying this myr of me . . . . . (f).

They receive the angel's warning:

By other weys god wyll ye weynd,
Into youre awne cuntre . . . . . (q),

and act accordingly.

In the Fugacio Iosep & Marie in egiptum (XV) the angel's message, "Awake Ioseph and take intent" (Surge, Joseph) (a′) and the command to go to Egypt, is followed by a long dialogue regarding the message and its cause.

In the Magnus Herodes (XVI) the expanded play still shows the liturgical structure, with a second consultation of the doctors. The liturgical element is prominent especially in the one case where Herod exclaims:

A hundreth thowsand I watt and fourty ar slayn,
And four thowsand . . . . .

which is certainly based on the source Centum quadraginta quattuor millia, qui empti sunt de terris (Resp. in tertio nocturno, Festum Innocentium). (f′).

In the York Plays the Coming of the Three Kings to Herod (XVI) consists principally of the boasting of Herod. In the next play, which is

merely a continuation of XVI, including the Adoration, the sequence of scenes agrees with that of the liturgical plays. The information from the Scriptures is supplied by the Magi themselves. Herod speeds them on their way to Bethlehem:

> Wendis furth, youre forward to fulfill, To Bedlem, it is but here at hande,

(Ite et de puero diligenter investigate). (n). The Quem quaeritis incident seems to have been the source of the following part:

> *Ancilla:* Whame seke ȝe syrs, be wayes wilde,
> With talkyng, trauelyng to and froo? . . . . .
> *ii Rex:* We seke a barne þat all shall bylde . . . . .
> *Ancilla:* Come nere, gud syirs, and see,
> Youre way to ende is broght . . . . .

Liturgical influence is certainly present in the oblation:

> Hayll! clene þat is comen of a kynges kynde,
> And shall be kyng of þis kyth, all clergy has kende.
> –
> With golde þat is grettest of price
> Be paied of þis present, I pray the.
> –
> In þat gude thurgh grace of thy godhede,
> Als þe gleme in þe glasse gladly þow glade , ...
> In-sens to þi seruis is semand . . . . .
> –
> And sen thy body beryed shalbe,
> This mirre will I giffe to þi grauyng. (f).

The warning of the angel:

> "And turne be-tyme or ȝe be tenyd," (q),

followed by the departure of the Magi, closes the play.

In the Flight into Egypt (XVIII) the angel warns Joseph: "Wakyn, Joseph, and take entente" (a′), and bids him go to Egypt with Mary and the child. The preparation for the flight and its beginning is carried in dialogue.

In the Massacre of the Innocents (XIX) the structure is that of the liturgical plays. Otherwise there are no liturgical tags that would show definite connection.

The following conclusions are offered in regard to the Magi and Rachel plays: The Latin plays had their inception in the liturgy and their first material from it; there was a good deal of original composition, even in the Latin plays, always, however, with the background of the liturgical structure; in most of the vernacular and cycle plays, not only the structure of the liturgical plays was retained, but also a good deal of additional subject-matter was taken from liturgical plays and from the liturgy itself.

THE PLAY OF THE PURIFICATION OR THE PRESENTATION

List of Texts Examined

Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.
Egerer Spiel.
Towneley Mysteries, XVII.
York Plays, XLI.
Coventry Mysteries, XVIII.
Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry.
Chester Plays, XI.

The Play of the Purification has offered some difficulties to investigators in the past, a circumstance due partly to the fact that there are some isolated plays of that name and entries regarding a play of that kind. In this brief discussion, I shall follow the same method that has been applied in the examination of the other plays.

The Feast of the Purification of Mary occurs on the second of February, forty days after Christmas. The responses given by Gueranger[157] are those of the Liber Responsalis Gregorii Magni.[158] The ones that occur in sequence and carry the story of the day are those Ad Invitatorium, In secundo Nocturno, In matutinis Laudibus:

Vs: Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto . . . . .
Resp: Non visurum se mortem nisi videret Christum domini.
Ant: Senex puerum portabat, Puer autem senem regebat: quem Virgo peperit et post partum virgo permansit: ipsum quem genuit adoravit.
The Canticle of Simeon.
Ant: Responsum accepit Simeon a Spiritu Sancto non visurum se mortem, nisi videret Christum domini; et cum inducerent Puerum in Templum, accepit eum in ulnas suas, et benedixit eum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis . . .

The following points are prominent in the liturgy of the day:

(a) Simeon's earnest expectation of the Savior
(b) The message of the Holy Spirit to Simeon
(c) The bringing of the sacrifice by Joseph and Mary
(d) Simeon receiving the child into his arms
(e) The adoration of the child by Mary
(f) The Nunc dimittis

The entire story of the Presentation and Purification is carried in the antiphons and responses of the Feast of the Purification according to the Sarum Breviary, and there are lectiones taken from Augustine, Ambrose, and Bede, which give a complete exposition of the story in all its parts.

[157] *The Liturgical Year*, 2:520.
[158] Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78:745.

With so much material present in the liturgy, it is not surprising that we find historical entries pointing to the existence of an independent play on the Feast of the Purification. Creizenach writes:[159] "In der Pariser Handschrift Bibliotheque nat. fond. lat. 17330 Fol. 18 findet sich ein merkwürdiges, aber völlig vereinzeltes Beispiel, dasz auch Marias Darstellung im Tempel bei Gelegenheit einer Prozession zur Aufführung kam." This may, however, refer to a Presentation of Mary, which we shall discuss below. In the references to plays and pageants in the Burgh Records of Aberdeen, Scotland[160] there are the following entries:

"Sept. 5, 1442. Thir craftes vndirwritten sal find yerly in the offerand of our Lady at Candilmas thir personnes vnderwritten . . . . .

Feb. 1, 1484/5. Order for all craftsmen 'to beyr thare takyinis of thare craft apon thare beristis, and thare best array on Candilmas day at the Offerand.'

Jan. 30, 1505/6. Order for continuance of 'the old lovabile consuetud and ryt of the burgh,' that the craftsmen 'kepit and decorit the procession one Candilmes day yerlie . . . . . '"

It is evident from these and the succeeding records that there were plays in connection with this procession and that two of these plays were the Three Kings of Cologne (Herod and Magi) and the Purification and Presentation. Chambers says:[161] "The Passion (Haliblude play) was performed, perhaps only occasionally, on Corpus Christi day; the Nativity annually, at Candlemas. The 'persones' of 1442 and the 'Pageants' of 1505/6 are practically identical, and would furnish a short play, with Moses and Octavian to represent the Prophetae, a Stella, and a Presentation in the Temple." In Smith, *English Gilds*, pages 149 and 150[162] there is a record of the Guild of St. Mary of Beverley, 1355, in which it is stated that "every year, on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, all the bretheren and sisteren shall meet together in a fit and appointed place, away from the church; and there, one of the gild shall be clad in comely fashion as a queen, like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms; and two others shall be clad like to Joseph and Simeon; and two shall go as angels, carrying a candle-bearer, on which shall be twenty-four thick wax lights. With these, and other great lights borne before them, and with much music and gladness, the pageant Virgin with her son, and Joseph and Simeon, shall go in procession to the church. And all the sisteren of the gild shall follow the Virgin; and afterwards all the bretheren; and each of them shall carry a wax light weighing half a pound. And they shall go two and two, slowly pacing to the church;

[159] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 169, note 1.

[160] Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2:330.

[161] 2:333.

[162] *Cf.* Spencer, *Corpus Christi Pageants in England*, 70.

and when they have got there, the pageant Virgin shall offer her son to Simeon at the high altar; and all the sisteren and bretheren shall offer their wax lights, together with a penny each. All this having been solemnly done, they shall go home again with gladness."[163]

In the Digby Plays[164] the situation seems to have been much like that of Aberdeen as regards date of presentation, for the superscription reads: "Candlemas day & the kyllynge of the children of Israell, anno domini 1512." The Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry contains a separate play of the Presentation, in which the regular Christmas material was introductory. In the York Plays, as in the other cycles, the Purification of Mary occupies a position chronologically impossible. The play was to be given, according to a note (page 433) between the Herod and the Flight into Egypt. Miss Smith says of the manuscript: "The play is written on the blank leaves at the end of quire xxix . . . . . The words 'explicit liber' at the end seem to show that this was the concluding piece in a book from which it was copied" (page 433, note). The evidence presented here seems to point quite definitely to an independent origin and growth of this play.

Vernacular Purification Plays

This evidence is strengthened by an examination of some of the plays of the Presentation in the vernacular. There is a Presentation scene both in the poem Von der Beschaffung diser Welt,[165] and in the Egerer Spiel.[166] Unfortunately, the text of the incident in the latter play is not accessible and an examination therefore impossible. In the Towneley Mysteries this play is fragmentary, a part of the manuscript having been lost. In the York Plays, the Purification of Mary: Simeon and Anna Prophecy (XLI) has the following scenes and principal parts:

The temple at Jerusalem with Anna, the prophetess
(a) Simeon's longing for the Savior and the message of the angel
Mary and Joseph at Bethlehem, preparing for the purification
(b) The bringing of the child and the offering of the sacrifice
Simeon called by the angel
(d) Simeon receiving the child into his arms
(f) The Nunc dimittis

In the Coventry Mysteries the Purification (XVIII) may be divided:

[163] On the "dumb-show theory" of Gayley, Spencer, and others in this connection, see Craig, The Corpus Christi Procession and the Corpus Christi Play. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 13: No. 4; and the present author's *Inquiry into the Origin . . . . of the Corpus Christi Festival and Procession*, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1913.

[164] Furnivall, *Digby Plays*.

[165] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[166] *Germania*, 3:267.

(a) Simeon's longing for the Savior
(b) The message of the angel
Simeon and Anna in the temple
(c) Preparation for the purification
(d) Simeon receives the child into his arms
(f) The Nunc dimittis:
"Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, et cætera. The psalme song ther every vers, and ther qwyle Symeon pleyeth with the child, and qwhan the psalme is endyd, he seyth . . . . . "
(e) The bringing of the sacrifice

In the Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry[167] the following principal divisions appear:

(a) Simeon's longing for the Savior
Anna's hope in the Savior's coming
(b) The message of the angel to Simeon
(c) Preparation for the purification
Mary adoring the child
Simeon called by the angel, Anna also comes
The presentation
(d) Simeon receives the child into his arms
(f) The Nunc dimittis

A folio of the manuscript is missing.
In the Chester Plays, there are the following scenes:

Simeon and Anna in the temple
(b) The message of the angel
(c) Joseph and Mary prepare for the presentation
The offering of the doves
(d) Simeon welcomes the Savior
(f) The Nunc dimittis

In the Digby Plays virtually the same divisions are observed as in the complete cycles:

(a) Simeon at Jerusalem, longing for the Savior
(c) The preparation for the presentation
The offering of the sacrifice
(d) Simeon takes the child in his arms
(f) The Nunc dimittis
Simeon's prophecy concerning the Christ-child

Position of the Play in the Cycles

Beside the structure of the play, its position in the cycles should be noted with special care. In Luke 2, the story of the Presentation follows immediately after that of the Nativity. But in the cycles, the position of the play is one that can not be reconciled with chronological sequence. In the poem, Von der Beschaffung diser Welt, it is located between

[167] Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays.*

the Three Kings and Herod and the Slaughter, in the Egerer Spiel between the Adoration of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt. In other German cycles the Presentation is wanting entirely. In the Digby Plays it follows the Slaughter. In the Towneley Mysteries it is situated between the Magnus Herodes and the Pagina Doctorum, in the Ludus Coventriae between the Adoration of the Magi and the Slaughter of the Innocents, in the Chester Plays after the Slaughter at the very end of the Nativity series. In the York Plays, as noted above, the Purification also has a wrong position. Now in view of the fact that the Purification Play mentions the forty days after the Nativity, at the end of which time the presentation should be made, and that the Herod plays mention two and even three years as the time it took the Magi to come from the East, this peculiar position of the play in the various cycles serves to confirm the evidence for the liturgical origin and separate growth of the play. It probably grew out of the liturgy of Candlemas Day, becoming, in some cases, an extended play with introductory scenes from the nativity, in other cases, however, being added to existing cycles, where an approximate position was chosen for it. The Purification Play is therefore an example of the principle of isolated growth, with subsequent addition to a cycle play. And while the idea that the Purification Play is the outgrowth of the Simeon incident in the Prophetae may have been entertained, it must be said, in reference to such an excrescence, that it may have been possible, but is hardly probable in view of the complete liturgy of the festival day concerned. It is unlikely even that the suggestion for such a play was received from the Prophetae. And while it is true that the evidence in support of the liturgical connection of the Purification Play is largely of a circumstantial nature, it is equally true that this evidence almost compels admission of the allegation in this case, where the argument receives additional strength on account of the obvious dependence of the earliest dramas upon liturgical structure.

The following conclusions are offered in regard to the Purification Play: In most cases, if not in all, the Purification Play grew up alone, in connection with the festival of the same name (Candlemas), with material from the liturgy, shown both in the structure and in liturgical tags; in some cases (Aberdeen, Digby) the play may have grown up together with the Magi on Candlemas Day, and even become the nucleus for a cyclical presentation; the long isolation of the play and its late addition to the cycle plays in general is attested to by its position, which is invariably impossible according to chronological sequence.

THE PLAY OF CHRIST AND THE DOCTORS

List of Texts Examined

Italian play for Dom. post Epiph.
Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.
Egerer Spiel.
Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry.
York Cycle, XX.
Towneley Mysteries, XVIII.
Chester Plays, XI.
Ludus Coventriae, XX.

The evidence for the assumption of liturgical influence in the case of this play is even more circumstantial than in that of the preceding one. And yet, the evidence is of such a nature that definite conclusions seem fully warranted.

So far as the liturgy is concerned, this story is included within the nativity cycle, being the Gospel for the Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany. The most prominent scene of the story is also carried in the responses for that day:

(a) *Ant:* Fili, quid fecisti nobis sic? ego et pater tuus dolentes quaerebamus te.
(b) Quid est quod me quaerebatis? nesciebatis quia in his quae Patris mei sunt, oportet me esse?
(c) *Ant:* Puer Jesus proficiebat aetate et sapientia coram Deo et hominibus.

This story apparently never received the same attention as the other stories of the Nativity cycle. There are no English or German texts extant which treat of this incident alone, nor is there any evidence that it existed alone in these languages, unless the entry at Leicester, 1499: "Paid for a play in the church, in Dominica infra Octavam Epiphaniae, ij s," refers to such a play.[168] It is significant in this connection, however, that an Italian play which D'Ancona prints has the heading: Dom. post Epiphan., and treats of this story:

(a) *Maria:* O car dolce mio filglio,
Da me se nato mo' si poverello! . . . . .

On the other hand, there seems to be sufficient material for the assumption that, at the time of the formation of cycles, and especially at the time of the final recasting and revision, the suggestion for this play at least was found in the liturgy. It served to round out the nativity series in the cycle plays, just as it practically closes the Christmas festival in the liturgy. It serves to make the Christmas series a unit.

[168] Chambers, 2:376.

It may be noted here that in many cases the Christmas cycle in the liturgy ended with the Dom. I post Epiph. in the service books, which would explain both the general presence of the play as also the absence of other Epiphany subjects (Cf. *Processionale ad usum Sarum*).

So far as the play itself is concerned, its text is found in the poem patterned after the liturgy, Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.[169] It is also found in the Egerer Spiel[170] after the Return to Nazareth, and in the Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht.[171]

In the English field, the play occurs in the Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry, in the York cycle (XX), in the Towneley Mysteries (XVIII), in the Chester Whitsun Plays (XI), and in the Ludus Coventriae (XX). The relation between these various plays and their probable interdependence is shown by Professor Craig.[172] After quoting the opinions of previous investigators, Ten Brink, Hohlfeld, Davidson, and Pollard, the author makes a very extended comparison and finally states the following as his conclusions: "In light of the whole matter, therefore, it seems probable that some Northumbrian nucleus of craft or church plays was in possession of this Doctors' Play, and since the subject was unusually attractive, the play spread to the south and west. On its way to Coventry it perhaps fell under the influence of T, or under influence which also affected T. This was probably also the case in its journey to Chester; but there is no reason whatever to think that the Play of the Doctors passed from Coventry to Chester or that Ch and WCo in any way interdepend." (page xxxiv.)

Whether or not the extant cycle plays concerning us here were patterned after one model, is of interest only inasmuch as a transitional play of the Doctors, similar to those of the Shrewsbury Fragments, may have influenced them all to some extent, as Professor Craig shows in his comparison. The fact, however, that liturgical influence of the Prophetae is so evident in the Pageant of the Weavers would in itself lead one to suppose that the entire play was modeled after the liturgy or some liturgical play, probably in a series. Moreover, the speech of one of the doctors: Ex ore infancium et lactancium perfecisti laudem has the appearance of a liturgical tag. The interview between Jesus and his mother is very close to the Latin:

Mare: A! Jesus, Jesus, my sun soo swete,
Thy gooyng froo me soo suddenly
Hathe cawsid vs bothe for to wepe
With byttur teyris abundantly.

[169] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterlum*, 2:130.

[170] *Germania*, 3:267.

[171] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterlum*, 2:302.

[172] *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, xxviii.

Thyn olde fathur here and I
For thy sake, sun, hath lykyd full yll.
Owre yis the were but seldum dry,
But now thatt we ar cum the tyll. (a).
Iesus: Modur, why did you seek me soo?
Hyt hathe byn ofte seyde vnto you,
My Fathurs wyll i mvst fullfyll,
In eyuere pwynt, for well or woo. (b).

In the Ludus Coventriae the corresponding passage reads:

Marie: A! dere childe, dere childe! why hast thou thus done?
ffor the we have had grett sorwe and care;
Thy ffadyr and I thre days have gone,
Wyde the to seke of blysse ful bare. (a).
Jhesus: Why have ȝe sought me with hevy fare?
Wete ȝe not wele that I muste bene
Amonge hem that is my faderes ware,
His gostly catel for to ovyrsen? (b).

The Towneley and York cycles are in large measure identical in this play. The former has the Latin version: Ex ore infancium . . . . , the latter an English translation:

For Dauid demys of ilka dele,
And sais þus of childir ȝing,
And of ther mouthes, he wate full wele,
Oure lord has parformed loving.

The interview in Towneley and York reads:

Mar: A! dere sone Jesus! Sen we loue the allone,
Why dosse þou þus till vs, And gares vs make swilke mone?
Thy fadir and I be-twyxte vs twa
Son for thy loue has likid ill,
We haue þe sought both to & froo,
Wepand full sore as wightis will. (a).
Jesus: Wherto shulde ȝe seke me soo?
Ofte tymes it hase ben tolde you till,
My fadir werkis, for wele or woo,
Thus am I sente for to fulfyll. (b).

The reading of the Chester Plays is much like this, also.

The following conclusions are offered in regard to this play: Liturgical tags and structure point to liturgical suggestion, if not liturgical origin; the addition of the play to the nativity series was for the purpose of rounding out the Christmas cycle, after the pattern of the liturgy; the evidence of a common model for the English plays suggests a pattern on the order of the Shrewsbury fragments.

THE OLD TESTAMENT PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht.
Egerer Spiel.
Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.
Le Mistere du Viel Testament.
Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.
Cornish Plays.
York Plays, I-XI.
Towneley Mysteries, I-VI, VIII.
Chester Plays, I-IV.
Ludus Coventriae, I-VI.

In the discussion of the Prophetae, reference was made to M. Sepet's theory, "that the plays on Old Testament subjects made their appearance in connection with the various prophets of the Processus Prophetarum until there arose the whole series of Old Testament Plays from the Fall of Lucifer to the Nativity of Christ."[173] Weber, Chambers, Creizenach, Hemingway, as noted above, Rothschild,[174] and others have accepted this theory without question and even elaborated it.

This theory, however, did not seem to be adequate to Professor Craig, who, in an article, "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays,"[175] offers material in support of another theory, namely, "that the Old Testament plays, particularly those derived from the Book of Genesis and those relating to the Fall of Lucifer and the angels, in other words, the stock plays of the English cycles and of the popularly developed Continental cycles, did not originate from the Processus Prophetarum, but from the addition to the Passion Play of a body of epical and homiletic material derived, in the first instance, from the lectiones and accompanying ritual of the church." Whether it will be necessary to modify or to extend Doctor Craig's theory, will appear from the discussion.

Certain it is, that even a very cursory comparison of liturgical and cyclical structure tends to make the new theory plausible. In the great number of developed cycles there is a restricted number of subjects from the Old Testament, and usually practically the same subjects, namely the Creation and the Fall of Lucifer, Adam and Eve and the Fall of Man, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, and sometimes Moses and the

[173] Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2:52-59. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 61.
[174] *Le Mistere du Viel Testament*, iii.
[175] *Modern Philology*, 10:473.

Exodus. In the liturgy of the Lenten season, we have the same subjects. From the earliest times the Heptateuch had been ordered read during the time before Easter. In a Codex of St. Blasius of the eighth century the passage reads: "In Sexagesima usque in hebdomadam majorem legitur Eptadicum."[176] Other codices have Septuagesima instead of Sexagesima. In the *Romani Ordines*[177] is contained the following paragraph: "Dominicae Sexagesimae legitur de Noe, in Quinquagesima de Abraham, in Quadragesima de sermonibus, in tertia Dominica de Jacob et Esau, in quarta de Joseph, in quinta de Moyse." In the Liber Responsalis of Gregory the Great[178] the Responsoria in Sexagesimam carry the following Bible narratives:

The creation of the world
The creation of man (Adam)
The planting of paradise
The creation of Eve
The prohibition of the fruit in the middle of the garden
The fall
The punishment
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
The inquiry in regard to Abel's death
The curse of Cain

The Responsoria in Quinquagesimam give the following incidents:

The building of the ark
The flood
The saving of Noah and his family
The fixing of the rainbow
Noah builds an altar
The Lord blesses Noah
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Responsoria de Abraham
The command to leave his native country
The promise of blessing
The visit at Mamre
The promise of a son
The command to sacrifice the son
The command to stop the sacrifice
The repetition of the blessing
The marriage of Isaac

The Responsoria in hebdomada secunda in Quadragesima carry the following narrative:

Isaac's preparation for the blessing
The blessing of Jacob
The blessing of Esau
Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia

[176] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 146.

[177] Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78:1037. *Cf.* Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers.*

[178] Migne, 78:748.

The dream and vow at Bethel
The wrestling at the ford Jabbok
The return of Jacob to Canaan

The Responsoria de Joseph, hebdomada tertia in Quadragesima, will be discussed below. The Responsoria in hebdomada quarta in Quadragesima carry the story of Moses and the Exodus:

The command given to Moses to demand the release of the Israelites from Pharaoh
Moses before Pharaoh
The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea
Moses on the mountain, Sinai
Moses returning "portans duas tabulas lapideas"
The last commands of Moses
Responsoria de Josue
The promise of God to be with Joshua as he had been with Moses

This part of the church year is plainly divisible into three parts (*Cf.* Gueranger): the Septuagesimal part or pre-Lenten season, the Quadragesimal part or mid-Lenten season, and the Lenten season proper, beginning with Dom. in Passione. And the responses for the season, with which we are here concerned, the Septuagesimal and Quadragesimal parts of the Lenten season, are taken principally from Genesis and Exodus, though a few of them were gleaned from the historical psalms of praise. It should always be remembered also that the Scripture lessons read during this time contained the full account of the stories carried in the responses, and that the homiletic lectiones brought expositions of the stories, often with detailed account. The same order of the presentation of stories obtained quite generally in Breviaries in England, as well as on the Continent, as is evident from the Sarum Breviary, and from those of York and Hereford. The only difference seems to be in this: that the responses for Sexagesima have been augmented and taken into the previous week, so that the story of the Creation and Fall, and Cain and Abel belong to the week of Septuagesima, and all the other stories have accordingly been set forward, and that now and then slight additions have been made, e.g. Abraham and Melchisedek, the Fall of Sodom, and others. Professor Craig found the incident of Lamech in the Breviarium Colonnense. There is a decided tendency toward amplification, the subject material being the very extensive lectiones of this season.

General Comparison between Liturgy and Cycles

If we now compare the list of the Old Testament plays in the cycles and elsewhere with the list of these very extended liturgical narratives, the great similarity is immediately apparent, as noted above. In the York Plays there are the following Old Testament subjects: Creation, Fall of Lucifer, Adam and Eve, The Garden of Eden, Man's Disobedience,

Fall, and Punishment, Cain and Abel, The Building of the Ark, Noah and His Wife, the Flood, Abraham and His Sacrifice, Departure of the Israelites from Egypt, the Ten Plagues, and the Passage of the Red Sea.

The subjects of the lost Beverley cycle agree with those of York. In the Towneley Mysteries we have: Creatio, Mactatio Abel, Processus Noe cum Filiis, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and a Pharao after the Processus Prophetarum. The significance of this position will be discussed below.

In the Ludus Coventriae, the first plays are: Creation, Fall of Man, Cain and Abel, Noah's Flood, Abraham's Sacrifice, Moses and the Two Tables. In the Chester Plays there are only The Fall of Lucifer, Creation and Fall, and Death of Abel, Noah's Flood, Histories of Lot and Abraham. In the ancient Cornish Drama, the following incidents are prominent: The Creation, Lucifer, Adam and Eve, the Fall and Expulsion from Eden, Cain and Abel, Seth, Noah and the Ark, Abraham and the Sacrifice, Moses and Pharao and the Passage of the Red Sea, David, Solomon. Then there are the single plays: Creation of Eve and the Fall, of Norwich; Noah's Ark, of New-Castle-on-Tyne; the Brome Abraham and Isaac, and the Dublin Abraham and Isaac. This list may be greatly amplified by a consultation of the Appendices offered by Chambers, in volume 2.

In the German field, there is the Mastricht Play[179] with the Creation of Heaven and Earth and the Angels, the Fall of Lucifer, the Creation of the World, and the Fall of Man. In the Egerer Spiel[180] we have the Creation of the World, Lucifer's Fall, Creation of Adam, Temptation and Fall, Cain and Abel, Lamech, Noah and the Flood, Abraham and Isaac, Moses (and the *filii Israel*), Exodus, Giving of the Law, David and Goliath, Solomon. In the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel[181] the following plays appear: Creation, Fall of Lucifer, Creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation and Fall, Cain and Abel, Noah and the Flood, Abraham and Isaac and the Sacrifice, Moses and Aaron, David and Goliath, Solomon. The very fact that there is such an agreement in the subjects and in the sequence of plays in the cycles argues for a common well-known source.

Now so far as the actual connection of these Old Testament plays with the liturgy is concerned, Doctor Craig has shown that the liturgical evidence in the Ordo repraesentationis Adae is very strong, to say the least.[182] It can hardly be argued that the agreement of the liturgical tags in the Norman-French play with the responses of the liturgy is that of a chance identity. The very probable evidence of the Isaac and Rebecca of the Kloster Vorau in Styria can be supplemented by the fact that the liturgical tags in the Egerer Spiel (Temptation and Fall), where the Chorus

[179] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterlum*, 2:302.

[180] *Germania*, 3:267.

[181] *Germania*, 4:338.

[182] *Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, 483.

sings: Cum deambularet Dominus . . . . agrees exactly with a response of the Liber responsalis in the Creation series. It is also most likely that the Ego sum alpha et omega, introducing the play of the Creation, was taken over from, or at least suggested by, a Chorus of the Great Sabbath, where the Creation was narrated in the liturgy.[183]

Ordo Joseph

The best means, perhaps, of showing the direct connection between the Old Testament plays and the liturgy is offered by the Joseph Play, recently published by Doctor Young,[184] of which he says that it probably has some connection with the liturgy of the third Quadragesimal Sunday. The play is unfortunately not complete. It is in rhyme and includes the time from the sending of Joseph to Schechem to the first return of the sons of Jacob from Egypt and the conversation about the necessity of sending Benjamin down to Egypt. The sequence of incidents in the *play* is the following:

Jacob calls Joseph and sends him to find his brethren.
The brethren seeing him: Ecce venit somniator . . . . Occidamus . . . .
Reuben intercedes: Non est bonum ut fraternum effundamus sanguinem . . .
They place Joseph in the pit.
The coming of the Ishmaelites: Mercatores Hismaelis veniunt . . . .
Judas gets Joseph from the pit and sells him: Vos bis denos Mihi nummos . . . .
The sale is made, the coat of many colors is taken off.
Reuben, who has been absent, finds the pit empty: Quaerens non invenio . . . .
The brethren send Joseph's coat to Jacob: Vide vestis An sit ista Joseph tui . . .
Jacob recognizes the coat: Te crudelis devoravit Et insana bestia . . . .
The sons try to console him, but in vain . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Joseph's trouble with Potiphar's wife. Joseph non concedit consilio, quo nolente discedere, illa clamidem rapit.
The liberation of the butler after the revelation of his dream by Joseph.
Joseph set free and made ruler.
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Threatened by famine, the brethren persuade Jacob to let them go to Egypt to buy food.
The brethren before Joseph: Scire volo que sit vobis veniendi ratio . . . .
The silver put into the sacks, the brethren overtaken and brought back: Furti quidem conscii . . . .
One held captive, the others journey home: Merito gravissimam Patimur iniuriam . . . . Talis retributio est pro Fratre . . . .
They come to Jacob, relate their experiences, insist upon the necessity of Benjamin's returning with them. Judas goes bond for Benjamin.

The sequence of incidents in the *liturgy* is as follows:

[183] *Romani Ordines*, Migne, 78:1014, 1078.

[184] *Modern Language Notes*, 26: February. This is correct, as a note by Rothschild in the introduction to the Joseph episodes of the Viel Testament shows.

Joseph sent by his father. Videntes Joseph . . . . frates dicentes: Ecce somniator venit . . . .
Joseph in the pit.
The passing of the Ishmaelites. Dixit Judas fratribus suis: Ecce Ismaelitae transeunt; venite, venundetur . . . .
Extrahentes Joseph de lacu vendiderunt Ishmaelitis viginti argenteis . . . .
Cumque abiisset Ruben ad puteum et non invenisset eum . . . .
The bloody coat sent to Jacob. At illi intincta tunica Joseph sanguine . . . . Vide si tunica filii tui sit, an non . . . .
Jacob recognizes the coat. Fera pessima devoravit . . . .
The children try to comfort him, but he repeats his lament . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Joseph a servant in Egypt.
The liberation of the butler.
The brethren come to buy food.
The remorse of the brethren: Merito haec patimur, quia peccavimus in fratrem . . . .

In the Sarum Breviary, the lectiones of the Dominica tell part of the story, and the remainder is found in the ferial lectiones for the week of the third Sunday in Quadragesima. There are also Lectiones de sermone beati Johannis episcopi, treating of the entire life of Joseph, including the incident in the house of Potiphar. The Play of Joseph and his Brethren is therefore clearly based on the liturgy.

Mistere du Viel Testament

That the liturgy gave the suggestion and at least furnished the outline for the Old Testament plays, is noticeable even in the French "Mistere du Viel Testament," although this was a composite work based upon the popularly developed cycles and very much expanded in the form in which it has been published.[185] The cycle includes the stock plays, such as La Creacione des Anges, Le Trebuchement de Lucifer, La Creacion du Soleil et de la Lune, des Etoilles, Bestes, Oyseaulx, de Paradis, Terrestre, La Creacion d'Adam et d'Eve, La Transgression d'Adam et d'Eve, Du Proces de Paradis, Des Sacrifices Cayn et Abel, De la Mort d'Abel et de la Malediction Cayn, Du Deluge, Abraham, Du Sacrifice d'Abraham, Comment Eliezer demanda Rebecque, La Benedictione a Jacob, Jacob et Esaü, De Joseph et son Freres, etc. In the La Creacion des Anges a hymn is introduced: Tunc simul cantent angeli:

O lux beata, Trinitas,
Et principalis unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus;
Infunde lumen cordibus."[186]

[185] *Cf.* Craig, *Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, 478, and references.

[186] Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, 1:36; 4:47, 48.

In the La Creacion d'Adam et d'Eve, the passage,

> Icy sera par providence
> Forme de terre et de lymon . . . , and
> Homme, qui es par bonne entente
> Forme de terre et de lymon . . . ,

reminds one rather strongly of the Formavit igitur Dominus hominem de limo terrae, a response in Sexagesimam.

After the creation of Eve, "Adam, faisant admiration en regardant Eve 'Hoc nunc os de ossibus meis et caro de carne mea . . . .

> Sera appellee virago,
> Pour ce que je l'ay apperceue,
> Quia sumpta est de viro . . . ,"

which agrees with the response of the Creation series: Et vocavit eam virago, quia de viro sumpta est. *Vs:* Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea. At the end of the play, "Tunc cantant angeli simul

> Summe Deus clemencie,
> Mundique factor machine,
> Unus potencialiter,
> Trinusque personaliter."[187]

In the play De la Mort d'Abel et de la Maledictione Cayn occurs the passage

> Dieu parlant a Cayn
> Cayn, Cayn, pecheur indigne,
> D'ouyr ma voix, ou est ton frere
> Abel? Qu'esse qu'en viens de faire?
> Dy le moy tost, il le fault dire:
> Ou est Abel?
> *Cayn:* Je ne scay, sire.
> *Dieu:* Haa! menteur, des pires le pire,
> Veulx tu denyer ceste guerre?
> Le sang qui en est sur la terre
> A crye vers moy a ouissance,
> Demandant contre toy vengeance,
> D'avoir commis ce fratricide.

This passage recalls very strongly the liturgy: Ubi est Abel frater tuus? . . . . Nescio, Domine. Quid fecisti? Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra . . . . Remembering the fact that in the Representatio Adae these passages are the very ones where the liturgical origin was shown so plainly,[188] the evidence carries all the more weight.

In the incident Comment Eliezer demanda Rebecque, the prayer of Eliezer (II,88) agrees almost word for word with the prayer as contained in the liturgy, Responsoria in Quinquagesimam, De Abraham.[189]

[187] *Cf.* note by Rothschild, 1:40; and Daniel, 1:34; 4:38.

[188] Craig, 483.

[189] Migne, 78:750.

English Old Testament Plays

Turning now to the English field for a more exact comparison, we find that even in the developed mystery plays the evidence of liturgical influence is not wanting. The York Creation and the Fall of Lucifer (I) begins with the Ego sum Alpha et O, which was mentioned above. The Te Deum and the Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth, though very general in character, are inserted at a place where the angels praise God for the creation, and a liturgical play of the Creation, either in the Latin or in the vernacular, would undoubtedly have included one of these stock hymns at this point. The sequence of incidents in the remaining plays of this series is the same as in the liturgy, with the one exception that the creation of Eve is not treated separately.

In the Towneley cycle the Creation play also opens with Ego sum alpha et O. It contains a separate creation of Eve, but is unfortunately fragmentary, a circumstance due to the loss of twelve leaves in the manuscript.

In the Chester Plays, both the Fall of Lucifer and the Creation and Fall begin with Ego sum alpha et O. As a song of praise the angels have in this case Dignus Dei. The creation of Eve is a separate incident, and the words of Adam on that occasion are:

> Therfore shee shalbe called, I wisse,
> Viragoo nothinge amisse . . . .

They recall that part of the liturgy given above, in connection with the French play. The same is true of the passage,

> *God:* Adam, Adam, wher arte thou?
> *Adam:* A! Lorde, I harde thy voyce nowe,
> For I am nacked, I make avowe,
> Therfore nowe I hyde me,

which agrees with the liturgy: Adam, ubi es? Audivi, domine, vocem tuam, et abscondi me.

In the Ludus Coventriae, the opening line of the Creation is again Ego sum Alpha et Ω. The angels' song of praise is given in full: Hic cantent angeli in caelo, Tibi omnes angeli, tibi coeli et universi potestates, Tibi cherubyn et seraphyn incessabili voce proclamant,—Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus! Dominus Deus Sabaoth. The search of God for Adam in the Fall of Man is not quite so close to the Latin:

> *Deus:* Adam, that with myn handys I made,
> Where art thou now? what hast thou wrought?
> *Adam:* A! lord, for synne oure floures do ffade,
> I here thi voys, but I se the nought.

There is also a final stage direction: Hic recedit Deus, et angelus seraph-

icus cum gladio flammeo verberat Adam et Evam extra Paradisum. The liturgy has:

Vers: Cherubim et flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendum viam ligni vitae.

The Norwich play of the Creacion of Eve, with þe expellyng of Adam & Eve out of Paradyce opens with Ego principium Alpha et O. The creation of Eve is the first incident, and the words of Adam:

Thys creature to me ys nunc ex ossibus meis,
And virago I call hyr in thy presens

point to the liturgy. The Adam, ubi es seems to be the basis of

Adam, Adam, wher art thou thys tyde?
Byfore my presens why dost thou not apere?
I herde thy voyce, Oh Lorde, but yett I dyd me hide.

In the York Sacrificium Cayme and Abell the passage occurs:

Ang: Thowe cursyd Came, where is Abell?
Where hais thowe done thy broder dere?
Cayme: What askes thowe me that taill to tell?
For yit his keper was I never.
Ang: God hais sent the his curse downe,
Fro hevyn to hell, maldictio dei.
Cayme: Take that thy self, evyn on thy crowne,
Quia non sum custos fratris mei.

In the liturgy we have, at this point,

Resp: Ubi est Abel, frater tuus? . . . .
Nescio, Domine, numquid custos fratris mei sum ego?

In the Towneley Mactatio Abel the question, "Caym, where is thi brother abell?" is also very prominent. The same is true of the corresponding passage in the Cain and Abel of the Ludus Coventriae:

Deus: Caym, come fforthe and answere me,
Asoyle my qwestyon anon ryght,
Thy brother Abel, wher is now he?
Ha don, and answere me as tyght.
Caym: My brothers kepere ho made me?
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Deus: Acursyd Caym, thou art untrewe,
And for thi dede thou xalt sore rewe;
Thi brothers blood that thou slewe,
Askyht vengeauns of thi mys.
Thu xalt be cursyd on the grounde . . . .

Compare with that the liturgy: Quid fecisti? Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui Abel clamat ad me de terra. *Vs:* Maledicta terra in opere tuo . . . .

In the Chester Creation and Fall the death of Abel is merely a final

incident, after the pattern of the liturgy. The passage of the question of God reads:

God: Cayme, wher is thy brother Abell?
Cayme: I wotte nere, I can not tell:
Of my brother wottes thou not well
That I of him hade noe kepinge?
God: What haste thou donne, thou wicked man?
Thy brothers bloode askes thee upon
Vengance, as faste as it can,
From earth to me cryinge.
Cayme, cursed on earth thou shalt be aye.

In this connection it may be mentioned that, even where the Latin cue words of the liturgy no longer appear, the prominence of these passages and their close agreement with the liturgy is significant, since speeches which are contained in the Bible story, but not in the liturgy, are not treated in the same way nor found in all plays.

In the York Building of the Ark (VIII) and Noah and his Wife, the Flood and its Waning (IX) the sequence of incidents of the liturgy is still noticeable, in spite of the high development and the introduction of comedy. Besides, the Arcum ponam in nubibus in the last scene points to the liturgy, *Resp:* Ponam arcum meum in nubibus coeli.

In the Towneley Processus Noe cum filiis this special tag is absent, but the structure otherwise agrees with the liturgy.

In the Noah's Flood of the Ludus Coventriae, all special liturgical marks have disappeared, leaving only a general tag at the end: Hic decantent hoc versus, Mare vidit et fugit, Jordanis conversus est retrorsum. Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, Sed nomini tuo da gloriam (Ps. 114:4. 115:1.), used frequently in the liturgy and here, no doubt, in reference to the dispersion of waters. It is very likely that this passage was used as a response in the dominical or ferial services of the week of Quinquagesima.

The Chester Noah's Flood has only the building of the ark and the entry, and then a final speech of God, with the blessing and the promise of the rainbow.

In the Newcastle Noah's Ark we have only the building of the ark. Although this part contains a good deal of the subject material of the other plays, it shows no direct connection with the liturgy.

In the Abraham plays there are no special liturgical tags, but certain peculiarities of structure present evidence of liturgical influence. In the York Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, when the angel has stopped the sacrifice and repeated the blessing of God, the marriage of Isaac to Rebecca is mentioned at once. The introduction of this subject is as abrupt as in the liturgy at the same place. In the corresponding plays of the Towneley

and Coventry cycle, the sacrifice of Isaac is the only incident. The prominent scene of the liturgy, with the staying of Abraham's hand and the reiteration of the blessing, stands out in these plays also. The same is true of the Dublin and of the Brome Abraham and Isaac play. The Chester Histories of Lot and Abraham has a Melchisedek incident at the beginning, otherwise the structure is not unlike that of the other plays. There are two significant passages at the end of the play, however, that tend to show that the Old Testament plays originally belonged to the Passion series, during Lent. The Expositor says:

This deed you see done here in this place,
An exsample of Jesu done it was,
That for to wyne mankindes grace,
Was sacrifised on the roode.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Make rombe, lordinges, and gave us waye,
And let Balacke come in and plaie,
And Balame that well can saie
To tell you of prophescie.
That Lord that died on Good Frydaie,
He save you all bouth nighte and daie!

In the Towneley Isaac (V) and Jacob (VI) plays the structure seems to argue for liturgical connection.

The plays of Moses and the Exodus have offered some difficulty, since Moses appears in the Prophetae, in one case at least, with the tables. But the representation of Moses with two stone tables is a traditional subject in the liturgy and in expositions, and need not cause surprise in the Prophetae. The liturgy in the Responsoria in hebdomada quarta in Quadragesima, expressly states, *Vs:* Descendit Moyses de monte portans duas tabulas lapideas in manibus suis, scriptas utrasque digito Dei. This versicle is included in the set on Moses. The York Departure of the Israelites from Egypt and the Towneley Pharao, whose peculiar position will be discussed below, are the same play. They have the sequence of episodes of the liturgy: God's command to Moses to lead Israel out of Egypt, the latter's demand of Pharao and the plagues, the exodus and the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. In the Coventry Moses and the Two Tables the burning of the bush incident is drawn into the scene of the giving of the law, a fact due to influence of expository writings, which may have served as lectiones, the burning bush being a prototype of the Savior.

Sporadic Old Testament Plays

There are still several minor points to be discussed in connection with the Old Testament plays. The addition of the Fall of Lucifer is easily

explained, since the subject was fully treated in sermons on the Creation, many of which may have become regular lectiones for the week of Septuagesima Sunday by the end of the twelfth century. Expositions of the kind may be traced back to the time of Tertullian. Augustine has one, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 40:333, and almost all the prominent ecclesiastical writers discuss Lucifer in connection with the creation.[190] The plays of Seth, and of David and Solomon, in the Cornish Origo Mundi, were probably added in consequence of the treatment of the patriarchs in the Evangelium Nicodemi, which the Cornwall author used extensively. The additions in the Egerer and Künzelsauer plays, including the Lamech, represent a natural development in a cycle by the inclusion of further episodes.[191] The same is true of the Lamech in the Ludus Coventriae. The absence of the Joseph play in England and Germany, a drama which was so popular in France and seems to have been found at least at Aberdeen, Scotland[192] seems rather odd until it is remembered that in most cases, including Beverley, the Old Testament plays close with Abraham and the Sacrifice, the only cycle including special plays of Isaac and Jacob being that of Towneley. This may mean either that the plays grew up singly and were taken into the cycle as needed or that the Septuagesima plays were taken as a group, the regular Passion series beginning with Quadrigesimal Sunday. Since the two series, the Septuagesimal and the mid-Lenten, overlapped to some extent in the liturgy, the various authors adopted different methods of overcoming the difficulty.

As for the general relation of the Old Testament plays to the cycles, the conclusions of Professor Craig are undoubtedly correct: "In view of the obviousness and availability of the lessons of the service and of their adequacy, I should be disposed to believe that the Old Testament plays originated from the lectiones and responsoria of the period of Septuagesima and Lent. It was a time of preparation and penance, and the devotions constantly looked forward toward Easter . . . . If the Old Testament plays originated within the church itself, which in some cases at least they probably did, and at a season some weeks before Easter, then they must have been united later with the plays of Easter itself; and the whole group of Easter plays later joined with the whole group of Christmas plays to form the cycles."[193]

The conclusions for the Old Testament Plays are the following: The Old Testament plays had their origin in the liturgy of Septuagesima and Lent. The subject matter of the liturgy that was afterwards used in the plays was taken both from Genesis and from Exodus. The plays may

[190] *Cf.* also Craig, 484.

[191] See note above in regard to the Lamech episode.

[192] Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2:331.

[193] Pages 484-5.

have grown up within the liturgy, as the Joseph most certainly did, while it is apparent that the plays, to a great extent, still show liturgical structure. They belonged to the Passion and therefore secondarily to the Easter series, until the time of cycle formation.

THE PASSION PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Benediktbeuern Ludus breviter de passione.
Benediktbeuern Passion Play (Munich).
Mystere de la Resurrection du Lazare.
Lazarus, by Hilarius.
Mary Magdalene Play.
Passio de Francfort.
Zerbster Prozession.
Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.
Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht.
Alsfelder Passionsspiel.
Egerer Spiel.
Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.
Frankfurter Dirigierrolle.
Frankfurter Passionspiel of 1493.
Sterzinger Passion.
Haller Passion.
Brixener Passion.
Passion (Mischhandschrift).
Chester Plays, XII-XVII.
Coventry Cycle, XXI-XXXIV.
Towneley Plays, XIX-XXIV.
York Plays, XXI-XXXVI.
Cornish Drama.

"The Planctus must be regarded as the starting point of a drama of the Passion," writes Chambers.[194] This assertion is based upon Wechsler's "Die romanischen Marienklagen." That the Planctus Mariae was not the starting point of a drama of the Passion, and that the theories of Wechsler, and also of Shönbach and Thien, in so far as they followed Wechsler, are not tenable upon closer study of the relation between the liturgy and the earliest forms of the medieval drama, we shall attempt to show in a special chapter on the Planctus. Mr. G. C. Taylor[195] and especially Professor Young[196] have opposed the theory, and the latter substitutes his surmise that "the groundwork of the Passion Plays is clearly the Gospel account," since the Great Passion, according to the four evangelists, was read on four days of the Holy Week. Certain it is that the dramatic recital of the Magna Passio became a custom at least as early

[194] *The Medieval Stage*, 2:40.

[195] The English Planctus Mariae, *Modern Philology*, 4:636, 637.

[196] *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play*, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25:309.

as 1213,[197] while dramatic action at the words Velum templi scissum est, Obscuratus est sol, Partiti sunt vestimenta, Emisit spiritum, and at other points of the narrative was also in vogue very early. Professor Young has also shown the close resemblance between the Ludus breviter de passione of Benediktbeuern and the Passio Magna.

The solution which seems the most probable and conforms to the dramaturgical method of the medieval age is this: that the responses and the lectiones of Holy Week and of the Lenten season offered the framework and also a good deal of the subject matter for the Passion plays; in other words, that the Passion plays grew out of the liturgy in much the same manner as the other liturgical plays, though apparently to a great extent during the transitional stage and with greater rapidity. The quicker development of the Passion series is due perhaps to two causes. In the first place, the liturgy contains a double cycle which could hardly escape the author and demanded extended treatment. And then, liturgical plays were no longer a novelty, having been developed to some extent for almost two centuries. For the first recorded Passion play is that of Siena, in Italy, of about 1200, which was followed, in 1244, by the play of the Passion and Resurrection, of Padua.[198]

In order to keep the cyclical idea in mind, we shall discuss first the true Passion Plays, or those of the Passio Magna, with which the series undoubtedly originated, and then the preparatory Passion plays, or Ministry Plays. The latter also bridge the gap between the Christmas series and the true Passion plays, and thus connect them with the Easter series.

The responses for Holy Week carry the narrative of the Passio Magna. The following incidents are told in the Responsoria from Palm Sunday to the Great Sabbath, according to the Liber responsalis of Gregory the Great:[199]

The entry into Jerusalem
The last supper (and Mary Magdalene)
The conspiracy of the Jews
The walk to Gethsemane
The agony
The betrayal
Trial before Caiaphas
Trial before Pilate
The crucifixion
The death and Burial

Some of these parts are carried out in a very elaborate manner, as the complete table will show. And that the liturgy did not change greatly for the services of Holy Week, may be seen from the Sarum Breviary,

[197] Young, 309; Chambers, 5.
[198] Chambers, 75.
[199] Migne, 78:761.

according to which the responses and lectiones for this period include the following:

(a) *The Conspiracy*
Seniores populi consilium fecerunt . . . .
(b) *The Agony*
In monte Oliveti oravi ad patrem: Pater, si fieri potest, transeat . . .
Veruntamen non sic ego volo, sed . . . .
Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem, sustinete hic . . . .
Symon, dormis? Non potuisti . . . .
Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum . . . .
(c) *The Betrayal*
Unus ex discipulis tradet me hodie.
Qui intingit mecum manum . . . .
Judas mercator pessimus osculo petiit Dominum; ille ut agnus . . . .
O Juda, qui dereliquisti consilium pacis et cum Judaeis consiliatus es: triginta argenteis vendidisti sanguinem justem.
Traditor autem dedit eis signum . . . .
(d) *Trial before Caiaphas*
Jesum tradidit impius summis principibus sacerdotum . . . .
Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladibus et fustibus . . . .
(e) *Trial before Pilate*
Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum . . . .
Judaei dederunt judici Pilato . . . .
Barrabas latro dimittitur et innocens Christus occiditur . . . .
(f) *Crucifixion and Death*
Tenebrae facta sunt dum crucifixissent Jesum. Et circa horam nonam . .
Cum ergo accepisset Jesus acetum: dixit, Consummatum est.
Ait latro ad latronem: nos quidem . . . .
Posuerunt super caput eius causam . . . .
Velum templi scissum est et omnis terra tremuit . . . .
(g) *The Burial*
Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum volventes lapidem . . . .

In this table, which will be supplemented by the complete list from the Liber responsalis, it is significant that the Velum templi scissum est, the Tenebrae facta sunt, and the Emisit spiritum, which, in the reading of the Passio magna, were always accompanied with dramatic action, have a prominent place in the liturgy of Good Friday. It should also be noted that some of the lectiones of Holy Week are taken from a sermon of Augustine on Psalm 63, which treats of the trial before Pilate, from one by Paul on the death, and from one by Beda Venerabilis on the burial, as the Sarum Breviary states.

Latin Passion Plays

A play such as the Ludus breviter de Passione of Benediktbeuern, which has liturgical structure and Maundy Thursday and Good Friday material, is a very natural development. If this play were simply a ren-

dering of the Gospel account in dialogue form, as has been stated, then there would be no explanation of the fact that the opening of Christ's side with the lance in this play occurs immediately after the crucifixion. The following comparison will show this peculiarity.

Ludus breviter de passione.

> Et baiolet sibi crucem et ducant eum *ubi crucifigitur.* Tunc unus ex militibus veniat, *cum lancea tangat latus eius.*

The liturgy.

> R. Tenebrae factae sunt *dum crucifixissent Jesum.* Et circa horam nomam exclamavit Jesus voce magna, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti? Et inclinato capite emisit spiritum, *tunc unus ex militibus lancea latus eius perforavit.*

In the same response both the crucifixion and the opening of the side are spoken of. And so we could compare other parts in the Ludus, which agree far better with the sequence of incidents and with the text of the liturgy than with the narrative of the Vulgate. The sequence of incidents in the Ludus is as follows:

The Preparation for the Passover
The Last Supper

Stress is here laid, just as in the liturgy, on the conversation concerning the betrayal. The first speech is: Amen, dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est in hac nocte. (Liturgy: Unus ex discipulis meis tradet me hodie.)

The next speech of Christ is: Qui intinguit mecum manum in parapside . . . . (Liturgy: Qui intingit mecum manum in parapside . . . .).

The Capture in the Garden
The Trial before Pilate
The Crucifixion and Planctus
The Death and Burial

Further evidence of the liturgical element in the Passion Plays, of their development from the liturgy, with liturgical structure and liturgical material, will be given below, in the discussion of the plays in this series, in the transitional and vernacular stages. It will be best to introduce, at this point, the evidence for the liturgical element in the Ministry plays, which seem to be an early, deliberate amplification of the Passion plays for the purpose of providing the link between the Christmas and the Easter series.

The Ministry Plays

The stock plays for the period of the ministry are the following: The Baptism of Jesus and John the Baptist, The Temptation, The Woman taken in Adultery, Lazarus, The Entry into Jerusalem (which may also be considered as belonging to the Passio Magna). The Transfiguration and the Prodigal Son also occur. At various points in the cycles we also find

parts of the sermons John 6 and 8, as well as the story of Zacchaeus and the healing of various sick people. Mary Magdalene is usually included in the Lazarus story (also in the story of the Last Supper).

The liturgy during the Lenten season, according to the Sarum Breviary, carries prominently the following incidents:

(a′) *The Temptation.* Dom. Prima Quadragesimae.
Ductus est Jesus in desertum a Spiritu ut tentaretur a diabolo.
Et accedens tentator dixit ei: Si filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant . . . .
The lectiones are taken in part from a homily of Pope Gregory, which treats of this story, also from a Sermo beati Maximi episcopi. The responses carry the principal points of the story.

(b′) *The Transfiguration.* Ebdomada I. Quadragesimae, Sabbato ff.
Assumpsit Jesus discipulos suos et ascendit in montem: et transfiguratus est ante eos.
Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis faciamus hic tria tabernacula.

(c′) *The Woman taken in Adultery.* Ebdomada III. Quadragesimae, Sabbato ff.
Inclinavit se Jesus et scribebat in terra, si quis sine peccato est, mittat in eam lapidem.
Nemo te condemnavit, mulier? nemo, Domine; nec ego te condemnabo, jam amplius noli peccare.

(d′) Ebdomada IV. Quadragesimae, Feria sexta ff.
Lazarus amicus noster dormit, eamus et e somno excitemus eum.
Domine, si hic fuisses, Lazarus non esset mortuus, ecce jam foetet quatriduanus in monumento.

(e′) *Mary Magdalene.* Ebdomada in Passione ff.
Quid molesti estis huic mulieri: opus enim bonum operata est in me.
Mittens haec mulier in corpus meum hoc unguentum: ad sepeliendum me fecit.

(f′) *The Entry into Jerusalem.* Feria II. Ebdomadae sanctae.
Turba multa quae convenerat ad diem festum clamabat Domino: benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Osanna in excelsis.
Osanna Filio David, benedictus . . . .
Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta prosternebant in via: et clamabant dicentes . . . .
Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos olivarum obviaverunt Domino clamantes et dicentes . . . .

Rock[200] prints the whole rubric for the Palm Sunday procession, after Clement Maydeston.

In addition to this, the story of the Blind Man at Jericho is contained in the responses for the Quinquagesimal Sunday, while portions of John 6 and 8 are found as antiphons and also in lectiones throughout the Lenten season.

A complete table of the content of the responses during the entire Lenten season, including Holy Week, from the Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni, will enable us to see still more clearly the agreement between

[200] *The Church of our Fathers*, 4:269, note.

liturgy and plays. The responses of the dominical services appear with a narrow margin, those of the ferial services with a wide one.

Responsoria in Quinquagesimam.

The Blind Man at Jericho

Iter faciente Jesu cum deambularet Jericho, caecus clamabat ad eum, ut lumen recipere mereretur . . . .
Miserere mei fili David. Quid vis ut faciam tibi? Domine ut videam.
Et qui praeibant increpabant eum ut taceret; ipse autem magis ac magis clamabat: Fili David, miserere mei . . . .

The Healing of the Centurion's Son

Domine, puer meus jacet paraclytus in domo, et male torquetur.
Amen dico tibi, ego veniam et curabo eum.
Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum. Sed tantum dic . . . .

Responsoria de initio Quadragesimae.

The Prodigal Son

Pater peccavi in coelum et coram te; jam non sum dignus . . . .
Quanti mercenarii in domo Patris mei . . . .

The Temptation

Ductus est Jesus in desertum ut tentaretur a diabolo . . . .
Et accedens tentator, ait, Si Filius Dei es, dic ut lapides . . . .
Non in solo pane vivit homo . . . .
Tunc assumpsit eum diabolus in sanctam civitatem . . . .
Tentans diabolus Dominum, ostendit ei omnia regna mundi et gloriam . . . .
Vade Satanas, non tentabis . . . .
Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies . . . .
Reliquit eum tentator et angeli accesserunt . . . .

The Syro-Phœnician Woman

Dixit Dominus mulieri Chananeae: Non est bonum sumere panem . . . .
Utique domine, nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt . . . .
O mulier, magna est fides tua. Fiat tibi sicut petisti . . . .

The Sick Man at Bethesda

Angelus Domini descendit de caelo. Movebatur aqua . . . .
Vade, jam noli peccare . . . .

The Transfiguration

Assumpsit Jesus discipulos suos, ascendit in montem . . . .
Domine, bonum est nos hic esse. Si vis, faciamus hic . . . .
Visionem quam vidistis nemini dixeritis, donec a mortuis . . . .

Hebdomada tertia in Quadragesima.

Christ and the Samaritan Woman

Qui biberit aquam quam ego do, dicit Dominus Samaritanae . . . .
Domine, video ut propheta es tu . . . .

Responsoria in hebdomada quarta in Quadragesima.

The Woman taken in Adultery

Inclinavit se Jesus scribebat in terra . . . .
Nemo te condemnavit mulier . . . .
Nec ego te condemnabo . . . .

The Dispute concerning the Healing of the Blind Man in Jerusalem

Lazarus

Diligebat Jesus Martham . . . .
Lazarus amicus noster dormit . . . .
Domine, si hic fuisses, Lazarus non esset mortuus . . . .
Ad monumentum Lazari clamabat Dominus dicens: Lazare veni foras . . .

Responsoria de Passione Domini.

The Sermon of Jesus, John 8, and the Attempt to kill Him

The Conspiracy against Jesus

Principes sacerdotum consilium fecerunt ut Jesum occiderent . . . .

Responsoria in hebdomada majore in Palmis.

The Entry into Jerusalem

Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem Hebraeorum pueri . . . .
Turba multa quae convenerat ad diem festum clamabat ad Dominum; Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, hosanna in excelsis . . . .
Occurrunt turbae cum floribus et palmis Redemptori obviam . . . .
Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta sua prosternebant in via . . . .
Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos olivarum, obviaverunt Domino . . . .

The Preparation for the Passover

Ante diem festum Paschae sciens Jesus quia venit hora . . . .

The Last Supper (and Mary Magdalene)

Coenantibus autem, accepit Jesus panem; benedixit ac fregit . . . .
Coena facta est, dixit Jesus discipulis suis: Amen, amen dico vobis . . . .
Mandatum novum do vobis . . . . Si ego Dominus et Magister . . . .
In diebus illis mulier quae erat in civitate peccatrix . . . .
Discumbens Dominus accepit panem, et dedit discipulis suis, dicens:
Accipite et manducate hunc panem, et sciatis quia hoc est corpus meum.
Et hunc calicem et bibite ex illo, et sciatis quia hic est sanguis meus novi Testamenti . . . .

In the remaining part of the Passio Magna, the Sarum Breviary agrees almost verbatim with the Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni.

One can not help seeing that the stock plays of the cycles agree with the subjects of the dominical services, and that the plays which are found only occasionally agree with the subjects of the ferial services, as outlined above. The agreement between the liturgy and the cycle play subjects is so evident as to exclude the probability of a chance coincidence. The authors of the cycles were familiar with the cycles of the liturgy and took in every case at least the same subjects for their plays, if not the same structure.

That the composers of plays used the liturgy, is shown by two plays printed by D'Ancona. The first one is a play of the Prodigal Son, Post Dominic. II Quadrag. The story of the Prodigal Son is carried in the responses for the Saturday of that week. The second one is a play, Feria III post Dom. Passionis: Ambulabat Jesus in Galilaeam, non enim volebat in Judaeam ambulare.

Discipuli: Maestro nostro, de qui andate . . . .
Xps: El tempo mio non e' venuto . . . .

The liturgy for that day has: Tempus meum nondum advenit, tempus vestrum semper est paratum . . . .

So far as the other play, that of John the Baptist, is concerned, it seems to be an exception in this series, since it undoubtedly grew up in connection with the liturgy of the festival of John the Baptist (June 24). The festival celebrates especially the birth of John, and this narrative is carried in the liturgy of the day.[201] The play of the Baptism of Jesus has its liturgical basis in the festival of that name (January 7), whose liturgy was usually given together with that of Epiphany. It includes the principal parts of the story.[202]

In discussing briefly the individual and the cycle plays belonging to this series, the liturgical element will be found to be most persistent and prominent. The Johan Baptystes, in Harleian Miscellany, and the Temptation of our Lord, edited by Grosart, seem to have been individual plays. Whether they had any influence on the cycles, can not be determined. There are also isolated *Lazarus* and *Mary Magdalene* plays. In the Mystere de la Resurrection du Lazare of Orleans[203] there are some liturgical tags which seem to connect the play definitely with the Easter series. After the antiphon: In sapientia disponens omnia . . . , and the hymn: Mane prima sabbati, the dinner at Simon's with the Mary Magdalene scene is introduced, very complete. Then comes the sickness, death, and finally the awakening of Lazarus by Christ. The Ecce vestrum

[201] Migne, 78:786.
[202] Migne, 78:741.
[203] Du Meril, 213.

adventat gaudium . . . . and Ecce venit salvator gentium . . . . of the Nuntii remind strongly of both Christmas and Easter hymns, while the Mane prima sabbati is an Easter response.

In the Lazarus of Hilarius,[204] which represents a very advanced stage of mystery play, the special evidences of liturgical influence are not present, but the final direction shows that it was a church play. Quo finito, si factum fuerit ad Matutinas, Lazarus incipiat: Te Deum laudamus; si vero ad Vesperas: Magnificat anima mea Dominum.

The Digby Mary Magdalene play published by Pollard[205] and elsewhere is a late play, adapted, according to Pollard, from the Legenda aurea of Jacobus de Voragine, of which an English version was published by Caxton, 1483. There is evidence of the influence of a liturgical play in the incident of Herod, when he receives from his philosophers the prophecy concerning Christ's incarnation. It is probable that the play was intended for the festival day of Mary Magdalene (July 23), where it was expressly stated in the liturgy that she was considered the sister of Lazarus.[206] This fact may also explain the other cases, in which the Mary Magdalene play is combined with the Lazarus play.

Transition Plays

So far as the cycle plays are concerned, there are a great number both in Germany and England that show liturgical influence. In the Passion Play of Benediktbeuern, Munich, thirteenth century,[207] the following is the sequence of incidents:

Chorus cantet: Ingressus Pilatus (Ant. *Cf.* W. Meyer, *Carmina burana*, page 123).
The calling of Peter and Andrew.
The healing of the blind man at Jericho.
Domine Jesu, fili David, miserere mei . . . .
Quid vis ut faciam tibi . . . .
Domine, tantum ut videam.

If we compare with this the liturgy of Dom. Quinquagesimae, we find the whole story told in the responses, and in several antiphons the dialogue: Miserere mei, fili David. Quid vis, ut faciam? Domine ut videam.

Zacheus.
(f′) The entry into Jerusalem.
Chorus cantet: Quum appropinquaret . . . . . Quum audisset . . . . Pueri hebraeorum . . . . , all of which are antiphons in the Sarum Processional and Breviary (*Cf. Annales archeologiques*).

[204] Du Meril, 225.
[205] *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes*, 49. *Cf.* Furnivall, *The Digby Plays.*
[206] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 98, 404.
[207] Schmeller, *Carmina burana.* Du Meril, 126.

(e′) The dinner at Simon's, Mary Magdalene.
Chorus: Accessit ad pedes.
Antiphon: Quid molesti estis huic mulieri? Opus bonum operata est in me.
(d′) The awakening of Lazarus.
Lazarus amicus noster dormit . . . .
Domine, si fuisses hic . . . .
These are antiphons, Ebdom. IV Quadragesimae.
(a′) The conspiracy.
O pontifices, o viri magni consilii . . . .
Compare with this part the antiphon: Principes sacerdotum consilium fecerunt ut Jesum occiderent . . . .
(b′) The agony in Gethsemane.
Tristis est anima mea usque . . . .
Simon, dormis? Non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum?
Una hora non potuistis vigilare . . . .
Judam non videtis, quomodo non dormit, sed festinat me tradere . . . .
All of these speeches are antiphons, Feria quinta in coena Domini, and the last one is not found in the Gospel account.
(c) The betrayal and capture.
The denial of Peter.
Tamquam ad latronem existis . . . .
Antiphon, Feria sexta in parasceve.
(e) Trial before Pilate.
Lectio from sermon of Augustine.
(f) The crucifixion.
It should be mentioned here that the episode of the Eli, Eli, lama follows the Emittat spiritum, just as it does in the liturgy.
The planctus Mariae.
This also occupies a position analagous to the part in the liturgy which furnished occasion for its composition: Jerusalem, luge . . . . Plange quasi virgo . . . . This will be discussed at length in the chapter on the Planctus.

In the Passion de Frankfort, probably of the fifteenth century[208] the following incidents occur:

John the Baptist . . . . Ecce agnus Dei . . . .
The baptism of Jesus. Hic est filius meus . . . .
(a′) The temptation of Jesus.
The Calling of the Apostles.
The healing of the blind. Jesu fili David . . . .
The healing of lame, leprous, deaf, infirm.
The banquet of Herod and the death of John.
Sermon of Jesus, John 6.
Mary Magdalene.

The manuscript is fragmentary.

[208] Du Meril, 297.

German Passion Plays

In the Zerbster Prozession of 1507[209] the following pageants appeared:

John the Baptist
(a′) The temptation of Jesus
The twelve apostles
John's death
(d′) Lazarus
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
(b) Mount Olivet (agony)
(c) Betrayal
Denial of Peter
(d) Christ before Caiaphas
(e) Jesus before Pilate and Herod
(f) The crucifixion

In the cyclical poem, Von der Beschaffung diser Welt, of 1465,[210] which is based upon the liturgy, the following incidents are described:

John the Baptist and the baptism of Jesus
Beginning of Christ's ministry
Death of John Baptist
Miracles of Jesus
(f′) Christ's entry into Jerusalem
Last supper
(b) Gethsemane
(e) Christ before Pilate
(f) Crucifixion and death

In the Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Mastricht[211] the list is very complete, as far as it goes. The last part of the manuscript is lost.

The baptism of Jesus. Hic est filius meus . . . .
(a′) The temptation
The calling of Peter and Andrew
Petre, amas me? Tu scis, dne.
Pasce oves meas.
Tu es Petrus . . . .

This part of the cycle is undoubtedly not based upon the Gospel account, for that part of the Gospel story does not contain these speeches. They are found, however, in the Responsoria for the festival of St. Peter (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:789).

The marriage at Cana

An addition from the Epiphany series, the second Sunday.

(c′) { Mary Magdalene
The dinner at Simon's }
(d′) The awakening of Lazarus
(a) The conspiracy and the offer of Judas
The preparation for the Passover

[209] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.
[210] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.
[211] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

(b) The agony in Gethsemane
Symon, dormis? Non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum, et Judas non dormit, sed festinat me tradere Judaeis.

One has but to compare the speeches given here with the antiphons tabulated above and elsewhere referred to, and the conclusion as to the extent of liturgical influence will be inevitable.

In the Alsfelder Passionsspiel[212] the incident in the house of Simon and the anointing by Mary Magdalene show the same liturgical influence:

Chorus canit: Accessit ad pedes . . . .
Jhs dicit symo, hebeo tibi aliquid dicere.
(e′) Jhs dicit Recte judicasti.
Jhus rnt Quid molesti estis huic mulieri . . . .
Discipuli canunt: Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa.

The Friedberger Passionsspiel[213] is a great deal like the Frankfort Passion Play, which will be discussed below.

In the Egerer Spiel[214] the following incidents occur:

Jesus and the disciples at Bethany
(e′) Mary Magdalene
(d′) Lazarus
(a′) Conspiracy
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
The last supper
(b) Agony in Gethsemane
(c) Betrayal and capture
Denial of Peter
(d) Trial before Caiaphas
(e) Trial before Pilate
Death of Judas
Condemnation of Christ
Chorus: Ingressus Pilatus . . . .
(f) Crucifixion and planctus
Death

The Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel has the following parts:[215]

John the Baptist
(a′) The temptation
The call of the disciples
(d′&e′) Mary Magdalene and Lazarus
The great passion

In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of about 1350[216] the following incidents are included:

Baptism of Jesus
Ecce agnus dei . . . . Hic est filius meus . . . .

[212] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterlum*, 3:477.
[213] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterlum*, 7:545.
[214] *Germania*, 3:267.
[215] *Germania*, 4:338.
[216] Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 336.

John before Herod
(a′) The temptation
The calling of the disciples
The blind man at Jericho
Jhesu, fili David . . . .
Death of John Baptist
Christ's sermon, John 6
(e′) Mary Magdalene (before conversion)
(d′) Lazarus
Lazarus, amicus noster dormit . . . .
Lazare veni foras . . . .
(a) Conspiracy
Collegerunt pontifices . . . .
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
Pueri Ebraeorum vestimenta prosternabant . . . . Pueri Ebraeorum tollentes ramos . . . .
(e′) The meal at Simon's
Quid molesti estis huic mulieri . . . .
Ecce dimittuntur tibi peccata . . . .
The last supper
Mandatum novum do vobis . . . .
Diligamus nos invicem . . . .
Antiphons in coena Domini.
(b) Agony in Gethsemane
Una hora non potestis . . . .
Resp: O Juda, qui dereliquisti . . . . (Feria quinta in coena Domini).
(d) Trial before Caiaphas
(e) Trial before Pilate
(f) Crucifixion
Sicut ovis . . . . *Ant:* In laudibus, Coena Domini.
Popule meus quid feci tibi . . . . From Improperia of Good Friday.
(g) The death and burial

In the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493[217] we find the following parts:

The calling of the disciples
The sermon, John 6
The sick man at Bethesda
The Syro-Phenician woman
Mary Magdalene (before conversion)
Woman taken in adultery
Healing of blind, lame, etc.
(e′) { Conversion of Mary Magdalene
The meal at Simon's
Ad quid perdicio haec . . . .
Dismissa sunt ei peccata multa . . . . }
(d′) Lazarus
(a) Council of Jews
Last part of sermon, John 6
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta . . . . . Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos . . . .

[217] Froning, 336.

Last supper
Mandatum novum do vobis . . . .
(b) Agony in Gethsemane
Sic non potuisti una hora . . . . Quemcunque osculatus fuero . . . .
(d) Before Caiaphas
Tamquam ad latronem existis . . . .
(e) Trial before Pilate
(f) The condemnation and crucifixion
The planctus Mariae and death

In the Sterzinger Passion[218] we have the following incidents:

(a) The conspiracy
Colegerunt pontifices . . . . Expedit nobis, ut unus moriatur . . . .
Last supper
Homo quidam fecit . . . . Quia parata sunt omnibus . . . .
Antiphons of the Gospel of the Great Supper.
Desiderio desideravi pascha manducare . . . .
Mandatum novum do vobis . . . .
(b) Agony in Gethsemane
In monte Oliveti oravi ad patrem . . . .
Tristis est anima mea . . . .
Mi pater, sy possibile est . . . .
Symon, dormis? Non potuisti . . . .
Quemcunque osculatus fuero . . . .
(d) Trial before Caiaphas
(e) Trial before Pilate
Populo meus, quid feci tibi aut in quo contristavi te?
Quia eduxi te de terra Egipti, parasti crucem salvatori tuo!
Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annos et manna cibavi et introduxi in terram satis bonam, parasti crucem.
Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci? Ego quidem plantavi te vineam meam speciosissimam et tu facta es michi omnis amara; aceto namque sitim meam potasti et lancea perforasti latus salvatori tuo.

This is a special sequence or "Improperia," made up of responses from psalms and prophecies used during Holy Week.[219]

(f) The crucifixion, planctus, and death

In the Haller Passion[220] the following are the parts:

(a) Conspiracy of the Jews
Last supper
(b) Agony in Gethsemane
Quemcunque osculatus fuero . . . .
(d) Trial before Caiaphas
(f) Ecce vidimus eum non habentes speciem . . . .
Crucifixion
O vos omnes qui transitis . . . . Resp. in Parasceve
Death

[218] Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, 3.

[219] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 359.

[220] Wackernell, 277.

The Brixener Passion has:[221]

(e′) The dinner at Simon's
Accessit ad pedes . . . .
Last supper
(b) Agony in Gethsemane
(d) Trial before Caiaphas
(e) Trial before Pilate
(f) Crucifixion and death

A Mischhandschrift[222] has:

(a′) The temptation
Syro-Phenician woman
Sick man of Bethesda
Woman taken in adultery
Healing of blind at Jericho
The sermon, John 6
(e′) Dinner at Simon's
Ut quid perditio haec . . . .
(a) Council of Jews
Healing of blind, Zacheus
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem

English Passion Plays

In the English field, the cycles show a much more advanced stage of development; and yet the liturgical influence is apparent, as well in structure as in certain liturgical tags that have persisted.

In the Chester cycle the following plays occur:

(a′) The temptation and the woman taken in adultery
(d′) Lazarus
Sermon of Jesus
Healing of blind
Lazarre, com fourth, I byde thee.
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
Dinner at Simon's
A good deede shee hase done to daie . . . .
At Bethany and on the way
Pueri: Hosanna filio David . . . .
The purging of the temple and the first conspiracy
(c) Christ betrayed
The last supper
(b) The agony
What! slepe you brethren all here? . . . .
The passion
(d) Before Caiaphas
(e) Before Pilate

[221] Wackernell, 353.

[222] Wackernell, 435.

The condemnation
The denial of Peter

This peculiar position of the denial is easily explained on the basis of the liturgy, which has the responses concerning Peter's denial at this point (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:765-767).

(f) The crucifixion
Casting of lots
Jesus of Nazareth, King of Jews
Death

In the Coventry cycle, the following incidents appear:

The baptism of Christ
Ecce vox clamantis in deserto . . . . Ecce agnus dei qui tollit . . . .
(a′) The temptation
Hic veniant angeli cantantes et ministrantes ei: Gloria tibi, domine dicens.
The woman in adultery
(c′) Lazarus
Lazarus! my frende so fre, ffrom that depe pitt come out anon!
(a) The council of the Jews
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
And they syngyn: Gloria, laus . . . .
The last supper
Preparation and supper
Jews in council
Mary Magdalene

This position of the Mary Magdalene incident is a most peculiar one, but it agrees exactly with the liturgy, where the story of the peccatrix is placed in connection with the institution of the Sacrament (Ant. in Evg., In Coena Domini, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:766).

(c) The betrayal of Christ
(d) The trial of Christ
Before Annas and Caiaphas
Denial of Peter
(e) Before Pilate and Herod
The scourging
(f) The condemnation and crucifixion
Hic est Jhesus Nazarenus . . . .
Heloy, heloy lama . . . .
In manus tuas, domine . . . .
Nunc consummatum est . . . .
(g) The burial of Christ

In the Towneley cycle, the following plays occur:

Johannes baptista
Hic tradat ei agnum dei . . . .
A knyght to baptyse his lord kyng . . . . from the liturgy: *Ant:* Baptizat miles regem, servus Dominicum suum . . . . . In oct. Theophan. (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:744).
(a) Conspiracio
Council of Jews
Last supper

(b) Agony and capture
(d) Coliphizacio
Trial before Caiaphas and buffeting
(e) Flagellacio
Trial before Pilate and scourging
Condemnation
Processus crucis
(f) Crucifixion

Jhesus: I pray you pepyll that passe me by,
That lede youre lyfe so lykandly,
heyfe vp youre hartys on hight!
Behold if euer ye sagh body
Buffet & bett thus blody,
Or yit thus dulfully dight, ...

from the liturgy

O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus (In Parasceve, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:767).

Although both the Northern Passion and the York Crucifixion have a passage based on this same response of the liturgy, there was evidently no copying or borrowing at this point, since the reading is too unlike. The Northern Passion has:

Ye folk that passes by the strete,
Lukes vp and se my wondes wete,
And whatkin turmentes I here take,
And suffers sorows for yowre sake;
Bihaldes if any other pine
May be likkind vnto myne,
Or if any other thing
Sufferd euer so hard pineing (Line 1757 ff.).

The York version will be given below.
(g) The death and burial

In the York cycle, the following plays appear:

The baptism of Jesus
(a′) The temptation of Jesus
(b′) The transfiguration
(c′) The woman in adultery. Lazarus
(d′) Lazarus, veni foras . . . .
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
(Jericho) The blind man: Jhesu, the son of dauid called; thou have mercy!
Jesus: What wolde thou man I to the dede.
(a) The conspiracy to take Jesus
The last supper
Domine, quis est, qui tradit te . . . .
(b) The agony and the betrayal
Might thou nogt the space of an owre Haue wakid nowe mildely with me.
Euen like a theffe henensly hurl ye me here.
Peter denies Jesus. Jesus before Caiaphas
(e) Jesus before Pilate
Second accusation before Pilate
The condemnation of Jesus

Christ led up to Calvary, Planctus
(f) Crucifixion
All men that walkis by waye or strete,
Takes tente ye shalle no trauayle tyne,
Byholdes myn heede, myn handis, and my feete,
And fully feele now or ye fyne,
Iff any mournyng may be meete,
Or myscheue mesured vnto myne. (See above!)
(g) The death and burial

In the Ancient Cornish Drama the following parts are included in the Passio Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi:

(a′) Temptation
(f′) Entry into Jerusalem
Tunc veniant pueri ebraeorum et deferant palmas et flores . . . .
(c′) The invitation of Simon the Leper
Mary Magdalene
(a) The conspiracy
The last supper
(b) Agony at Gethsemane
Peter, thou hast not watched well;
A little while thou shouldest watch with me . . . .
(c) The betrayal
The denial of Peter
(d) Trial before Caiaphas
End of Judas
(e) Trial before Pilate
The condemnation
(f) The crucifixion
(g) The burial

The material here offered seems to be sufficient to warrant the following conclusions: There is an obvious agreement of incidents and the sequence of incidents between liturgy and plays, in the Lenten season and Holy Week. The plot construction in the cycle plays in almost every case is that of the liturgy. The liturgical tags in many of the plays point to the liturgical responses or are identical with antiphons and responses of the liturgy. Many Latin tags of early plays are continued in later plays. The John Baptist play was taken from one or more festivals of this saint, the Baptism of Jesus from the Epiphany series. The plays of the Great Passion apparently developed first, as a cycle; the Ministry plays, some of which developed individually, were taken into the cycle later.

THE PLANCTUS

List of Texts Examined

Bordesholmer Marienklage.
Egerer Spiel.
Breslauer Schöppenbuch.
Wiener Passionsspiel.
Sterzinger Passion.
Zerbster Prozession.
York Plays, XXXVI-XXXIX.
Towneley Mysteries, XXIII-XXVI.
Chester Plays, XVII-XIX.
Ludus Coventriae, XXXII-XXXV.
Shrewsbury Fragments.
Frankfurter Passionsspiele.
Pfarrkircher Passion.
Haller Passion.
Ludus de nocte Pasche.
Kloster Lichtental Planctus.
Benediktbeurer Osterspiel.
Processionale, St. John the Evangelist, Dublin.
Troparium-Prosarium, Pripoll.
St. Gallen Manuscript.
Bodleian Manuscript Planctus.
Narbonne Ordinarium.
Sens, thirteenth century.
Prag Breviar, fourteenth century.
Engelberg 1372.
Cividale, fourteenth century.
Nürnberg Antiphonarium, thirteenth century.
Einsiedeln, thirteenth century.
Coutances Breviar, fifteenth century.
Orleans, thirteenth century.
Tours Mysterium.
Hortulanus Play.

The Planctus, like the Harrowing of Hell in the next chapter, is considered here as an intermediate episode, because it stands between the liturgy and the cycle plays in a somewhat isolated manner, its influence being seen in the Passion plays as well as in the Easter plays. In its inception it is found in the liturgy which influenced both the Visitatio and Hortulanus scenes and the Good Friday play. So far as the present general topic is concerned, the Planctus is of very subsidiary importance. It represents a unique excrescence of the liturgy, however, which, in some cases, assumed formidable proportions. Its later development in the various languages has been the subject of many interesting monographs.

The discussion of the Planctus Mariae was begun by Schönbach.[223] He was followed by Wechssler,[224] who made use of Schönbach and drew a rather sweeping conclusion in regard to the importance and influence of the Planctus. He says: "In Italien ist das vulgärsprachliche Drama überhaupt aus den Dichtungen der Laudesen und zwar speziall aus den Marienklagen erwachsen. Und in den Ländern, welche anders als Italien schon zuvor ein vulgärsprachliches geistliches Drama entwickelt haben, beruhen wenigstens die Passionsspiele auf unserer Literaturgattung. Im früheren Mittelalter gab es keine anderen Dramatisierungen der Leidensgeschichte als die Marienklagen." That these conclusions were far too daring, has been shown by several writers in recent articles. Mr. G. C. Taylor[225] asks: "Is it not more probable that the play was based on some model, dramatic or otherwise, and the planctus portion written along with the rest of it?" (page 636). And Professor Young[226] presents several reasons why Wechssler's theory is untenable, as noted above (in the chapter on the Passion plays). Chambers[227] and Creizenach[228] seem to accept, in the main, the arguments of Wechssler. Meyer[229] treats of the Planctus subject in a rather detached manner and does not commit himself as to Wechssler's theory. Davidson[230] touches upon the subject only incidentally. Kühl[231] and Thien[232] confine themselves to limited portions of the subject, especially in the discussion of vernacular sources.

Beginning now with the evidences of the Planctus in the cycles and the single vernacular plays, we find that the thorough work of other investigators enables us to make a summary, for both the English and German fields. In the English field, the work of Thien and of Taylor pretty well exhausts the subject. Thien discusses twenty-seven texts with their variants, tabulating his references on pages 12-15. Taylor bases his remarks on twenty-five texts, beginning with about 1250. He makes a special division of dramatic plays, including among these those of York, Towneley, Chester, Coventry, Digby. A comparison of the conclusions of these two investigators yields the following:

[223] *Über die Marienklagen.*

[224] *Die romanischen Marienklagen.*

[225] The English Planctus Mariae, *Modern Philology*, 4:605.

[226] Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25:309.

[227] *The Medieval Stage*, 2:39, 40.

[228] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 88.

[229] *Fragmenta burana*, 66-7.

[230] *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 21.

[231] *Über die Bordesholmer Marienklage.*

[232] *Über die englischen Marienklagen.*

THIEN

York . . . . principally Rolle's "Tractat," the Latin source not given (*Cf.* Taylor, page 609);
Towneley . . . . principally "Lamentacio," based on Bonaventura, Meditations;
Chester . . . . based on Bonaventura;
Coventry . . . . influenced by Bonaventura, "Tractat" and "Prosacompassio;"
Digby . . . .principally on Bonaventura.

TAYLOR

York . . . . no definite source, adaptation after many sources;
Towneley . . . . combination of more than one Planctus;
Chester . . . . like York;
Coventry . . . . Latin version of Bonaventura's Meditations;
Digby . . . . some version of the Cursor Mundi Planctus.

In the German field, the work of Kühl is, in general, sufficiently exhaustive, so far as direct sources are concerned. He names the sequence Planctus ante nescia as the original source of the following Planctus: Bordesholmer Marienklage, Trierer Marienklage, Alsfelder Passionsspiel, Egerer Frohnleichnamsspiel, Böhmische Marienklage, Erlauer Marienklage, Münchener Marienklage, Wolfenbüttler Marienklage, Sterzinger Passionsspiel, Breslauer Marienklage. For the Bordesholmer Marienklage he finds sources also in the hymn of Venantius Fortunatus "Pange lingua gloriosi praelia certaminis," in the "Stabat mater," in the hymn "Flete, fideles animae," and in the verse, "Mi Johannes, planctum move." There are other planctus in the German field, such as that of the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493,[233] that of the Breslauer Schöppenbuch of about 1350,[234] that of the Passionsspiel bei St. Stephan in Wien, before 1685,[235] which is evidently modeled after the Bordesholmer Marienklage, that of Kloster Himmelgarten of the fifteenth century,[236] that of the Zerbster Prozession of 1507.[237] The sources of these and others have been found by the various investigators partly in Bonaventura's Meditations, partly in the Interrogatio Anselmi de passione Domini.[238] Another possible source that has been mentioned is the "Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Christi."[239] The principal incidents of the Passio Magna are there discussed, among them also "De Christi morte, et eam consecutis mirabilibus," followed by "Luctus matris pro filii morte." There seems to be not the slightest doubt that such Latin planctus as those that are

[233] Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters.*
[234] *Germania*, 16:57.
[235] *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 6:146.
[236] *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 21:395.
[237] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.
[238] Oscar Schade, in *Halis Saxonum in libraria orphanotrophei MDCCCLXX.*
[239] Migne, 159:271.

printed by Mone[240] are indebted for a great part of their subject matter, though not for their basis, to either Bonaventura or Anselm.

Before proceeding to the Latin plays, however, it will be best to examine at least one vernacular planctus with some care, in order to discover, if possible, whether any connection with the liturgy may be established. The poem, "Unser Vrouwen Klage,"[241] can hardly be considered in this connection, because it is merely a descriptive poem based, as Milchsack states, on the Interrogatio sancti Anselmi mentioned above. But the Bordesholmer Marienklage is a typical German vernacular play, from which some idea of the planctus may be gained. The superscription of this, "Planctus devotissimus beatissime Marie virginis," states that it should be played "bona sexta feria," that is, on Good Friday, "ante prandium, in ecclesia ante chorum in loco aliquantum elevato vel extra ecclesiam, si bona est aura." If the reading of the Passio Magna interfered with the giving of the Planctus, it should be played "feria secunda post dominicam Palmarum ante prandium," that is on the Tuesday of Holy Week. The play opens with the

Ps: Circumdederunt me viri mendaces . . . .

and the

Vs: Quoniam tribulatio proxima est . . . .

John relates the happenings of the night before the crucifixion, whereupon Mary chants the

Vs: Anxiatus est in me spiritus meus . . . .
Conturbata sunt omnia ossa mea . . . .

The scene under the cross is given with the plaint of Mary,

Heu quantus luctus nobis est inductus . . . .

and of Mary Magdalene,

O quam tristis et afflicta . . . . from the Stabat mater dolorosa.

The play closes with the Consummatum est and the death, after which come an Oremus and a benediction. At the close there is heard again the

Ps: Circumdederunt me . . . . ,

and the

Vs: Quoniam tribulatio proxima est . . . .

Then the reading of the Passio Magna is taken up from the Tenebrae facta sunt till Tradidit spiritum.

This play ought to be sufficient to convince every unprejudiced investigator that theories like that of Wechssler are untenable. Versions of

[240] *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, 1:37, and elsewhere. *Cf.* Germania, 17:233.
[241] *Beiträge*, 5:193.

the Lament of Mary are found as early as the twelfth century,[242] and if the entire Passion series were built upon the planctus, the present one would occupy a unique position, since it dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century (about 1488). The very construction of the play is sufficient evidence for the fact that it was simply a dramatization of the Good Friday story. Moreover, the text is taken from the Passio Magna read on that day, and the framework is shown in the Latin liturgical tags. The Circumdederunt me viri mendaces . . . . , with the *Vs:* Quoniam tribulatio proxima est . . . . is given in the Sarum Breviary as Resp. ad Vesp. Dom. in Passione. The *Vs:* Anxiatus est in me . . . . is an Antiphon in Laudibus, Feria sexta Parasc. The Tenebrae factae sunt . . . . emisit spiritum is a Resp. in secundo noct. Parasc.

It seems the most natural thing to suppose that the Good Friday sequences, such as "Planctus ante nescia,"[243] "Flete, fideles animae,"[244] and others, or the hymns, "Mi Johannes, planctum move"[245] and "Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia"[246] should be expanded into a play for Good Friday, especially since the liturgy suggested a plaint. For the Great Sabbath the following responses were assigned:

> Hierusalem luge et exue te vestibus jocunditatis: induere cinere et cilicio, Quia in te occisus est salvator Israel.
> Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea, et ululate pastores in cinere et cilicio . . . . .
> Ululate pastores et clamate: aspergite vos cinere.
> Plangent eum quasi unigenitum: quia innocens Dominus occisus est.
> (*Sarum Breviary; cf. Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni.*)

So far, then, as the Good Friday Planctus is concerned, the following conclusions seem to be justified: The liturgy suggests a special Planctus. The sequence Planctus ante nescia and others were composed according to this suggestion. The sequences expanded, first into Latin plaints which received extra subject material from the liturgy and various other sources, and finally into vernacular plaints, whose influence is felt even in the cycle plays. The Planctus was not the germ of the Passion series.

Easter Morning Planctus

There is another point to be discussed in connection with the planctus, for its influence was not confined to the Good Friday play. There is good reason for believing that not only the lament of Mary, the virgin, but also the plaint of the three Maries on Easter morning, as well as that of Mary

[242] Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:350.
[243] Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, 125.
[244] Meyer, 69.
[245] Meyer, 71.
[246] Meyer, 144.

Magdalene, though in a more remote manner, were influenced or at least definitely suggested by the liturgy.

Beginning again with the English cycle plays, there is a very extensive Easter planctus in the Digby Plays in the "Mystery of the Resurrection."[247] It may be noted, in passing, that the Kloster Lichtental Planctus, like the Digby Burial and Resurrection Play, has a double Planctus, one for Good Friday, one for Easter. There is a lament of the three Maries in the York cycle (XXXVIII), which is much like that of the almost identical Towneley Play (XXVI). In Towneley the lament begins:

Alas! to dy with doyll am I dight!
Alas! that I shuld se hys pyne,–
Alas! how stand I on my feet! . . . .

The same kind of planctus is found in the Chester (XIX) and in the Coventry cycles (XXXVI). In the Shrewsbury Fragments[248] the Latin hymn, Heu, pius pastor occiditur is used in a translation.

German Planctus

In the German field, we have an Easter Planctus of the three Maries in the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle,[249] in the Pfarrkircher Passion,[250] in the Haller Passion,[251] in the Egerer Spiel,[252] in the Ludus de nocte Pasche.[253] An examination of the sources in these cases leads back in every case to sequences and hymns like the following:

Heu nobis internas mentes . . . , a sequence of the early ages (Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*),
Heu redemcio Israel . . . ,
Omnipotens pater altissime . . . ,
Heu pius pastor occiditur . . . , and others.

An examination of the Latin plays in the liturgical field will bring these very sequences and hymns into prominence. In the Ludus immo exemplum Dominice resurrectionis of Benediktbeuern[254] we have, Heu nobis internas mentes. In the Processionale of the Church of St. John the Evangelist of Dublin, fourteenth century[255] we have, Heu pius pastor occiditur. In the Troparium-Prosarium of Pripoll[256] we have, Heu quan-

[247] Wright, *Reliquiae antiquae*, 2:124.
[248] Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, xxxi.
[249] Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 336.
[250] Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, 181.
[251] Wackernell, 277.
[252] *Germania*, 3:267.
[253] Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 25.
[254] Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, 126.
[255] Manly, xxii.
[256] Young, *Some Texts* . . . , 303.

tus est noster dolor. In a St. Gall manuscript[257] we have, Heu nobis (internas mentes). In a Bodleian manuscript[258] we have, Heu pius pastor occiditur. In the Narbonne Ordinarium[259] we have, Omnipotens pater altissime, Heu quantus est noster dolor. In the text of Sens[260] we have, Hortum praedestinatio. This was originally a sequence of Einsiedeln, twelfth century. In the Prag Breviarium, fourteenth century[261] we have, Omnipotens pater altissime. In the Engelberg Officium of 1372[262] we have, Heu nobis internas mentes. In the Cividale Processionale, fourteenth century[263] there is the same lament. In the Nürnberg Antiphonarium of the thirteenth century,[264] as well as in that of Einsiedeln of the thirteenth century,[265] the same plaint appears. In the Orleans manuscript of the thirteenth century[266] we have, Heu pius pastor occiditur. And in the Mysterium of Tours, finally,[267] we have once more, Omnipotens pater altissime.

For the sequences which were so generally utilized in these liturgical plays, we again have the evident suggestion of the liturgy. And it was not merely the general idea which received consideration, but a specific liturgical direction. Some of the last antiphons for the Great Sabbath read:

Resp: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite et videte, Si dolor similis est sicut dolor meus.

Ant: Plangent eum quasi unigenitum: quia innocens Dominus occisus est.

Ant: Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum: lamentabantur flentes Dominum.

These responses are all the more significant in their suggestion of the plaint of the three Maries, as there is no mention of weeping or lamenting on the part of the women in the Gospel. The conclusion which seems most natural then is that the Planctus of the three Maries on Easter morning was suggested by the liturgy, one of the sequences mentioned above being chosen to express the lament at the tomb.

Mary Magdalen Planctus

Bearing in mind now the conclusions in regard to the Planctus of the Crucifixion play as well as that of the Visitatio Sepulcri play, it seems a

[257] Young, *Some Texts . . .*, 320.

[258] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 919.

[259] Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 64.

[260] Lange, 64.

[261] Lange, 74.

[262] Lange, 136.

[263] Lange, 136.

[264] Lange, 140.

[265] Lange, 140.

[266] Lange, 160.

[267] Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 97.

very natural thing that the planctus idea should have been extended to the later Hortulanus scene with Mary Magdalene, and that a plaint should have been put into her mouth. In the first place, she is usually included among the women at the tomb in the Visitatio scene, and then the Quid ploras afforded another cue for a lament of Mary Magdalene. In accordance with this, we find almost as many plaints of Mary Magdalene alone as for the three Maries in the previous scene. In the English cycles, there is a Hortulanus Planctus in York (XXXIX), in Towneley (XXVI), in Chester (XIX), and in Coventry (XXXVII). In the German field, we find this planctus in such plays as the Pfarrkircher Passion[268] and the Egerer Spiel.[269] The sources of these plaints are to be found in the sequences and hymns which were utilized in the Latin plays. In the Troparium-Prosarium of Pripoll[270] we have Rex in acubitum jam se contulerat, evidently composed or adapted for the play. In a St. Gall manuscript[271] we have: Dolor crescit . . . . Heu redempcio Israel. In the Engelberg text of 1372[272] we have: Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia, also in the Cividale manuscript of the fourteenth century.[273] In the Nürnberg Antiphonarium of the thirteenth century[274] we have Heu redemptio israhel, while the Einsiedeln manuscript of the same century[275] has Dolor crescit . . . . In the Coutances Breviarium, fifteenth century[276] there is merely the direction: Tunc Maria magdalena . . . . faciat lamentaciones, sic dicens: Me miseram. Finita lamentacione redeat ad sepulcrum . . . . In the Orleans manuscript of the thirteenth century[277] the lament seems to have been composed for the play: Heu dolor, heu quam dira doloris angustia . . . . In the Mysterium of Tours[278] we have another apparently original lament: Heu me misera! magnus labor, magnus dolor, magna est tristitia! In the Hortulanus Play[279] we have: Dolor crescit, with a rather free German translation.

Before drawing the final conclusions, a digression must be made on account of a suggestion by Doctor Young.[280] He thinks that the Planctus may be connected with the Depositio Crucis. It seems certain that

[268] Wackernell, 181.

[269] *Germania*, 3:267.

[270] Young, *Some Texts . . . .*, 307.

[271] Young, 323.

[272] Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 136.

[273] Lange, 136.

[274] Lange, 140.

[275] Lange, 140.

[276] Lange, 157.

[277] Lange, 160.

[278] Milchsack, 97.

[279] *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:309.

[280] Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play, Publ. Mod. Lan. Assoc., 24:308.

Professor Young's other idea,[281] according to which he makes the Depositio a scene for itself, corresponding to the Elevatio Crucis, is the correct one. The Planctus is a Crucifixion play and its action closes with the death of the Savior. In its extended forms, especially in the vernacular, it represents the development of an excrescence of the liturgy. The Depositio is a scene of itself, the Burial play, in preparation for the Harrowing of Hell incident, which was usually connected with the Elevatio Crucis.

From the entire discussion the following conclusions may be drawn: The suggestions found in the liturgy point in two directions, to Good Friday and to Easter Day, and possibly the latter suggestion could be extended to include the Hortulanus scene. The sequences and hymns Planctus ante nescia, Stabat mater dolorosa, Mi Johannes planctum move, Flete fideles animae, for Good Friday, and, Heu nobis internas mentes, Heu pius pastor occiditur, and Dolor crescit . . . . Omnipotens pater altissime, for Easter, were composed at the suggestion of the liturgy. In the development of the sequences into liturgical plays, subject matter was taken principally from the liturgy, with secondary material from various Latin sources, notably Bonaventura and Anselm, but the liturgical influence is still apparent in the liturgical construction. The play as such always remained isolated, but in the later vernacular and cycle plays its subject matter was used more or less extensively, sometimes forming whole incidents. The lament of the three Maries and of Mary Magdalene on Easter morning was never expanded into a separate liturgical play, unless the Hortulanus printed by Meyer (page 144) be considered such.

THE HARROWING OF HELL PLAY

List of Texts Examined

Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking.
Processionale of the Church of St. John, Dublin.
Ordo St. Gallen.
Ordo Breviarii Indersdorf.
Rituale-Agendum Moguntinum, Rome.
Ordo Augustensis I.
Ordo Augustensis II.
Ordo Wiceburgensis I.
Hereford Breviary.
Sacerdotale Romanum, Eichstätt.
Ordo Wiceburgensis II.
Agenda Bambergensis II.
Ordo Ruswil.
Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis. Coloniae.
Rituale Augsburg.
Kloster Muri Play.
Egerer Spiel.
Frankfurter Dirigierrolle.
Pfarrkircher Passion.
Brixener Passion.
Haller Passion.
Alsfelder Passionsspiel.
York Plays, XXXVII.
Towneley Mysteries, XXV.
Coventriae, Ludus, XXXIII.
Chester Plays, XVIII.
Ancient Cornish Drama.

The question of a possible or probable liturgical source of the Descensus or Harrowing of Hell incident in the cycle plays has been discussed more or less fully by various writers during the last two decades, but with rather indifferent results.[282] The most complete investigation of the subject is the monograph of Professor Karl Young.[283] The texts which he there offers in a series conforming to the various stages in the development of the Harrowing of Hell theme in connection with the Easter office, as well as his introductory and concluding remarks, have given a new stimulus to the investigations in this part of the liturgical field. All the more it is to be regretted, then, that Professor Young does not reach a definite conclusion. He leaves the issue in doubt. The conclusion that

[281] *Harrowing of Hell*, in *Transactions Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*, 16: Part 2.

[282] *Cf.* Young's Bibliography, in *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1, note.

the Harrowing of Hell incident was introduced into the liturgy from extra-ecclesiastical sources, appears to him inevitable; but he hesitates about accepting a result which would conflict so emphatically with the source question in other liturgical plays.

It seems that all the investigators in this field have overlooked two points of special significance in this connection:

1. The importance of the Great Sabbath, the day before Easter, and its liturgy, in their influence on this theme and its development;

2. The evidence of the liturgical element in the later vernacular plays, especially those in the German language.

The Descensus

The position of the Descent into Hell in the church year is a matter of the history of the doctrine and its liturgy. As early as the fourth century, Athanasius, the "Pater Orthodoxiae" (born 293, at Alexandria, died there 373), used the argument of the doctrine of the Descent in defense of the doctrine of the true humanity in Christ. "Die Höllenfahrt wurde als ganz besonderer Glaubensartikel festgehalten und in den Predigten am Sonnabend vor Ostern (In vigilia resurrectionis), den man als Denktag derselben feierte, ausführlich behandelt. Athanasius war der besondere Verfechter dieser Lehre."[284] On account of the controversy in regard to the person of Christ, the leaders of the Church laid special emphasis on this important point and the number of sermons on this subject which are mentioned by various historians is proportionally large. Kirkland[285] refers to sermons by Eusebius Emesenus, by Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (end of fourth century), by Prudentius, and others. Hulme[286] mentions sermons by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. Jerome and Augustine were both staunch defenders of the dogma as it had been fixed by the Church, for the first official statement of the "Descent into Hell" was formulated in 359 and 360 at the Synods of Sirmium in Pannonia, Nicae in Thrace, and Constantinople, and a few decades later the doctrine formed, according to the testimony of Rufinus (*Expositio symboli aquileiensis*, xviii), a part of the confession of the church of Aquileia, in northern Italy.

From about the fourth century dates also the position of the Descensus theme in the church year. Since the earliest days, the Great Sabbath had been celebrated with special solemnity.[287] At the time of Epiphanius (died 403) the time for the celebration of Christ's Descent was definitely fixed in

[284] Alt, *Der kirchliche Gottesdienst*, 573.

[285] *A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem, the Harrowing of Hell*, 15.

[286] *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, lxiii.

[287] *See* Apostolic Constitutions. Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 7:19. Jerome ad Matthew 25, 6.

the liturgical year as the night before Easter, the midnight services "in vigilia Resurrectionis." In a homily usually ascribed to this great pulpit orator, but also to Polybius,[288] the Descensus is described with dramatic vividness. The sermon is entitled: ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ *εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας καὶ Νικόδημον καὶ εἰς τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἅδην τοῦ κυρίου κατάβασιν μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος παραδόξως γεγενημένον.*

"What does it mean," he exclaims, "To-day there is great quietness on the earth. What does it mean? Quietness and great peace, vast silence, because the King sleeps; the earth has been filled with fear and has paused, because God incarnate has gone to rest; in the flesh He has died and Hades trembles. God for a short time has slept and awakened those in Hades." The entire narrative of the Harrowing of Hell is carried forward with intense fervor. The people in limbo are enumerated in order: Adam, Eve, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Daniel, Jeremiah, Jonah, David, Solomon, John Baptist, *οἱ προφῆταί τε καὶ δίκαιοι ἅπαντες.* Their prayers, consisting mainly of passages like Ps. 80:2, 4, Ps. 130:1, are given. Then the descent of Christ, accompanied by angels, archangels, etc., is described.

Γαβριὴλ . . . . . ῥῆσίν τινα ἰσχυρὰν . . . . . λαμπρὰν καὶ λεοντιαίαν φωνὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις, καὶ λέγει

Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν—μεθ' ὧν βοᾷ καὶ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλα αἰώνιοι.[289]

Other angels take up the command. It is uttered for the second, for the third time. There is confusion in Hades. And then comes the climax:

Ἐκεῖ γὰρ τότε διέκοψε Χριστὸς κεφαλὰς δυναστῶν—ἐκεῖ διήνοιξαν χαλινοὺς αὐτῶν λέγοντες

Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; . . . . . Κύριος κραταιὸς καὶ δυνατός. κύριος δυνατὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἀήττητος ἐν πολέμοις.

There follows the calling of Adam and his companions and finally the liberating of all the fathers from limbo. The remark made concerning this sermon is certainly true: "Huius homilia, quae medii aevi temporibus lectores plurimos habuisse videtur, infinita superest modicum multitudo." The introduction to another sermon, by the same author: *Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασιν,* discusses the same subject.

The contents of this sermon are given at such length, because it surely is one of the sources, if not the principal one, from which later writers and

[288] Published by W. Dindorf.

[289] In Psalm 24: 7-12 the LXX has: *Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; κύριος κραταιὸς καὶ δύνατος, κύριος δύνατος ἐν πολέμῳ.*

homiletes derived so much of their material. A large part of the later liturgical apparatus has been ascribed to Eusebian sources. The sermon by Eusebius of Emesa, as noted above, was quite as elaborate and perhaps also just as dramatic as that of Epiphanius. The Sermo Eusebii Episcopi, used in sections as the lectiones for Easter according to the Breviarium Monasticum of Pruefening, twelfth century[290] is probably a translation of the work of that author. However, we dare not attach too much importance to this sermon, since it has been stated that the Latin homilies attributed to Eusebius by Gagnaius and Fremy are writings of Western authors.

The case is somewhat similar with the Augustinian homilies on the subject. In "S. Augustini Episcopi . . . . De anima Christi"[291] occurs the passage: "Addunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, et domui eius, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, alliisque patriarchis et prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus solverentur," and in the Appendix, Sermo CLX, De Pascha:[292] "Tunc enim Dominus noster Jesus Christus illum tenebrarum et mortis principem colligavit, legiones illius perturbavit: portarum inferni vectes ferreos confregit, omnes justos, qui originali peccato astricti tenebantur, absolvit, captivos in libertatem pristinam revocavit, peccatorum tenebris obcaecatos splendida luce perfudit.—Voces tartari ad adventum Christi. Ecce audistis, quid defensor noster ultionis Dominus libere egisse describitur. (There follows a very spirited and dramatic discussion of the evil spirits regarding the Savior and the purpose of His descent.) Post istas crudelium ministrorum infernalium voces, sine aliqua mora ad imperium Domini ac Salvatoris nostri omnes ferrei confracti sunt vectes: et ecce subito innumerabiles sanctorum populi, qui tenebantur in morte captivi Salvatoris sui genibus obvoluti, lacrymabili eum obsecratione deposcunt, dicentes: Advenisti, Redemptor mundi; advenisti, quem desiderantes quotidie aperabamus . . . . Solve, Redemptor mundi, defunctos et captivos inferni. Descendisti pro nobis ad inferos; noli nobis deesse, cum fueris reversurus ad superos . . . . " In regard to this sermon, the following note appears in Migne: "Consarcinatus ex Gregorii et Eusebii sententiis. Et quidem hic plura sunt ansulis inclusa, quae minime reperiuntur in manuscriptis, quibus detractis caetera inter se aptius cohaerunt." The apostrophe of the evil spirits is by Migne referred to the Eusebian source, and, if that be true, it is probably taken from the sermon referred to above.

There is another sermon, to which attention has recently been called by Rand.[293] He says that Eusebius of Alexandria is the probable author.

[290] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 934.

[291] Migne, 33:711.

[292] Migne, 39:2059.

[293] *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*, *Modern Philology*, 2:261-278.

The theme of the Descent is elaborated. The Attollite portas scene is included. The language is dramatic.

While the question of the date of the Gospel of Nicodemus does not materially concern us in this part of the discussion and will have no bearing on the final conclusion, it may be mentioned nevertheless that the time of its appearance is now admitted to be not earlier than the fourth century.[294]

For the present, the following points stand out prominently for the purpose of our argument: The sermons of Eusebius of Emesa and Epiphanius very probably originated independently of the Gospel of Nicodemus. There is even some evidence for believing that these sermons or their source may have been the material which the author of the Gospel of Nicodemus used. These homilies and others like them were used extensively also as lectiones at the designated time in the liturgical year, during the medieval period. The so-called Augustinian homily on the subject is certainly based, not upon the Gospel of Nicodemus, but upon one of these homilies.

The fact mentioned above, that the day before Easter, the Great Sabbath, was considered the special festival day of the Descensus, and that the doctrine was fully represented in the liturgy of that day, is amply substantiated by the various Breviaries and Missals from the time of Gregory the Great to this day. In the Liber responsalis Sancti Gregorii Magni[295] we find in the liturgy of the Great Sabbath:

> Sabbato sancto in primo nocturno.
> *Resp:* Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, volventes lapidem ad ostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud.

After this reference to the Burial and the Setting of the Watch, the liturgy continues—

> In secundo nocturno.
> *Ant:* Elevamini, portae eternales, et introibit Rex gloriae . . . .
> *Ant:* Credo videre bona Domini in terra . . . .
> *Ant:* Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam.
> *Ps:* Exaltabo te . . . .
> *Vs:* Tu autem, Domine, miserere . . . .
> Responsoria in eodem.
> *Resp:* Recessit pastor noster . . . .
> Hodie portas mortis . . . . disrupit.

In the Sarum Breviary we have, in addition to that:

> *Resp:* Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum. Factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio inter mortuos liber.
> *Vs:* Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori: in tenebrosis et in umbra mortis.

[294] *See* Herzog-Plitt Enzyklopedie, sub voce.

[295] Migne, 78:768.

In an old hymn for the day, the passages occur:

> Haec nox est, in qua destructis vinculis mortis Christus ab inferis Victor ascendit.
> O vere beata nox quae sola meruit scire tempus et horam, in qua Christus ab inferis resurrexit.[296]

In the Liber Sacramentarum of Gregory the Great the Praefatio in Sabbato Sancto contains the following reference to Christ:

> qui inferorum claustra disrumpens, victoriae suae clara vexilla suscepit, et triumphato diabolo, victor a mortuis resurrexit.[297]

This evidence shows conclusively that the doctrine of the Descensus found its public utterance on the Great Sabbath, in the homilies and the liturgy of the day, especially in the last services, which were originally held about midnight, but later brought forward to the afternoon.[298]

After this preliminary discussion, it will surely not be too daring to assert that the germ of the liturgical Harrowing of Hell play was contained in the liturgy of the Church and had as its nucleus the Tollite portas antiphon. In the absence of accessible earlier plays, the reconstructed type form would probably have the following appearance:

> *Officiator:* Tollite portas, principes vestras, et elevamini, portae eternales.
> *Chorus:* Et introibit rex gloriae.
> *Diaconus* (in figura diaboli): Quis est iste rex gloriae?
> *Chorus:* Dominus virtutum ipse rex gloriae (fortis et potens).
> *Chorus:* Cum rex gloriae infernum debellaturus intraret
> Et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet;
> Sanctorum populus qui tenebatur in morte captivus voce lacrimabili clamaverat:
> *Animae:* Advenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte vinculatos de claustris.
> Te nostra vocabunt suspiria,
> Te larga requirebant tormenta.
> Tu facta es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis.

The development apparently took place in two ways. In one case, the scene remained a part of the Great Sabbath ceremonies, as we see in the Ordo of Ruswil.[299] In this instance, the procession which had formerly taken place about midnight, was merely set forward to nine o'clock. In the other case, the nucleus of the Great Sabbath liturgy became the introductory scene of the Resurrection drama and was placed in the new ordines just before Matins on Easter morning. This was undoubtedly due to the powerful dramatic appeal of the story. Most of the extant rituals show the later development of this form. A brief review of the accessible liturgical texts will show the correctness of these statements.

[296] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 361. Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, 2:303.

[297] Migne, 78:91.

[298] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 361.

[299] *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 18:459.

The earliest forms of the complete liturgical scene are contained in the ordines for the Depositio or the Elevatio Crucis, or both. At times a part of the later Visitatio marks the end of the Harrowing of Hell scene. The Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking, first decade of the fifteenth century, dated from 1363-1376[300] begins with a Depositio Crucis:

Resp: Ecce quomodo moritur justus . . . .
Ans: In pace in idipsum . . . .
Ans: Caro mea . . . .
Resp: Sepulto domino . . : .

Then follows the Ordo de Festivitate Paschali with procession and complete directions for acting.

Inprimis eat domina abbatissa cum toto conuentu et quibusdam clericis . . . . figurantes animas sanctorum patrum ante aduentum Christi ad inferos descendentes, et claudant sibi ostium . . . . capelle . . . . uno crucem deferente . . . . incipiens ter antiphonam Tollite portas . . . . Qui quidem sacerdos representabit personam Christi ad inferos descensuram et portas inferni dirupturam, et praedicta antiphona unaquaque vice in altiori voce incipiatur . . . . et ad quamquam incepcionem pulset cum cruce ad praedictum ostium, figurans dirupcionem portarum inferni, et tercia pulsacione ostium aperiat. Deinde ingrediatur ille cum ministris eius. Interim incipiat quidam sacerdos in capella existente antiphonam. A porta inferi erue . . . .
Ant: Domine abstraxisti ab inferis . . . .
Tunc omnes exeant de capella, id est, de limbo patrum, et cantent sacerdotes et clerici antiphonam
Cum rex glorie . . . .

In a Processionale of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, fourteenth century[301] there is a Depositio Crucis:

Resp: Estimatus sum . . . .
Resp: Sepulto domino . . . .
Vs: Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori . . . .
Chorus: Signatum est monumentum . . . .
Vs: Ne forte veniant discipuli . . . .
Ant: In pace in idipsum . . . .
Ant: Caro mea requiescat . . . .

In the Elevatio Crucis, which follows, we have the antiphon Cum rex glorie with the Advenisti desiderabilis . . . , followed by the Eleuamini porte eternales . . . . and Quis est iste rex glorie? . . . . repeated twice, and concluded with *Ant:* Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis . . . .

In an Ordo of St. Gallen of the early fifteenth century[302] there is a Depositio Crucifixi:

Ad Vesperas.
Resp: Ecce quomodo moritur justus . . . .

[300] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 926.
[301] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 915.
[302] Young, *Some Texts* . . . , 319.

Vs: In pace factus . . . .
Resp: Sepulto domino . . . .
Vs: Ne forte veniant . . . .

The action is given in full. The Elevatio Crucifixi has:

Ordo ad levandum crucem sanctam in sacratissima nocte pascali.

After the taking of the cross from the sepulcrum the

Vs: Solve cathenatus . . . .
Vs: Redde tuam faciem . . . .
Ant: Cum rex glorie . . . .
Ant: Attollite portas . . . .

after which the scene closes in the usual manner.

In an Ordo Breviarii, fifteenth century, Indersdorf, near Munich[303] there is an Elevatio Crucis. At the sepulcrum the psalms are spoken:

Domine quid multiplicati . . . .
Miserere mei Deus . . . .
Vs: Exurge, Domine, adiuva . . . .

In a Rituale-Agendum Moguntinum, Rome, Vatican, fifteenth century[304] there is a Depositio Crucis. The cross is placed in the sepulcrum with the

Resp: Ecce quomodo moritur justus . . . .
Vs: In pace factus est locus eius . . . .
Resp: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum . . . .
Vs: Ne forte veniant . . . .

In the Elevatio Crucis of the same Ordo it should be noted that there is a procession "ad ostium templi quod aptum est." The Tollite portas, repeated twice, and accompanied by as many blows against the door, is followed by the

Ant: Cum rex glorie . . . .

In the Ordo Augustensis I of 1487[305] there is a Commemoratio Dominice Resurrectionis for the elevation of the cross. The first scene is acted outside, "foribus ecclesie clausis." After the *Ps:* Miserere mei Deus, miserere mei . . . , during which the procession moves per ambitum vel per cimiterium, the *Ant:* Cum rex glorie . . . . is chanted usque ad vltimam januam. Then comes the Tollite portas with its two repetitions and the remaining dialogue. The scene ends with the second chanting of the Cum rex glorie . . . .

In the Ordo Wiceburgensis I of 1490[306] we have Sexta feria in Parasceve Ordo Officii. A deposition of the cross is staged.

[303] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 904.
[304] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 914.
[305] Milchsack, 126.
[306] Milchsack, 121.

Resp: Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est . . . .
Resp: Traditus est ad mortem . . . .
Vs: In pace factus est locus eius . . . .
Resp: Traditus est ad mortem . . . .
Ant: In pace in idipsum dormiam . . . .
Ant: Caro mea requiescat in spe . . . .
Ant: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum . . . .

In the Ordo Visitationis Sepulcri in Die Pasce, which follows, there is the

Ps: Domine, quid multiplicati . . . .

After the

Ant: Ego dormiui et sompnum cepi . . . . ,

the cross is taken from the sepulcrum and during the return to the choir, the

Ant: Cum rex glorie . . . . is sung "submissa voce."

The Quem quaeritis follows at once, but there is no Tollite portas scene.

In the Hereford Breviary of 1505[307] we find an Ordo Sabbato Sancto in Vigilia Paschae. The time is given as "post meridiem noctem ante matutinas." After the *Ant:* Cum rex glorie . . . ." submissa voce, ut magis lamentacionem et suspiria representet," there follows: Eleuamini . . . . "ad ostium sepulcri." The command and answer, with the necessary action, are given three times, after which the cross is taken from the sepulcrum.

In the Sacerdotale Eichstätt I of 1560[308] the Harrowing of Hell scene is enacted at the door. The Attollite portas is given three times, but there is no answering Diabolus, the "duo diaconi" that had remained in the church, instead respond directly with the Quem quaeritis.

In the Ordo Wiceburgensis II of 1564[309] we find a Depositio, In feria sexta parasceves.

Vs: Ecce quomodo moritur justus . . . .
Resp: Et erit in pace memoria eius . . . .

After the depositing of the cross, there follows the

Resp: Sepulto domino . . . .
Resp: Ponentes milites qui custodirent eum . . . .
Vs: Ne forte veniant . . . .

In the Ordo ad Elevandum Crucem de Sepulcro in Sancta Nocte Paschae, the usual order is found:

Ps: Domine, quid multiplicati . . . .
Ant: Ego dormiui et sompnum cepi . . . .
Ant: Cum rex glorie . . . .

[307] *Henry Bradshaw Society*, 1:324.
[308] Lange, 40, 41. *Cf. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 29:246.
[309] Milchsack, 133.

During the chanting of this antiphon the sacramentum is placed on the altar. Then follows the procession "ad januas ecclesiae" with the Tollite portas chanted only once, but the blows against the door in the usual number. The scene closes with a verse from the hymn, O vere digna hostia.

In the Agenda Bambergensis of 1587[310] there is an Ordo celebrandi commemmorationem dominicae resurrectionis in sancta nocte, which presents a very condensed form of Harrowing of Hell and Easter play. After the *Ps:* Domine, quid multiplicati . . . , "aperiatur sepulcrum," and there is a chanted *A:* Surrexit dominus de sepulcro. *Chorus:* Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. After that follows the Processio, vel per coemeterium, vel per templi ambitum, and the Descensus scene ad januam, with the Tollite portas. It is interesting, in this case, to find an explanation of the liturgical custom: "quomodo Christus dominus post passionem suo ad inferos descensu, eum inferni locum, qui Patrum limbus dicitur: vel quod alibi dicitur, portas aereas, vel vectes ferreos, confregerit, suosque captivos inde liberauerit." *A:* Cum rex glorie . . . . The play closes with, O vere digna hostia . . . , Gloria tibi domine, qui surrexisti a mortuis, and Victimae paschali.

In an Ordo of Ruswil[311] the time is given as "hora nona noctis." The procession passes "per circuitum coemiterij." The Attollite portas with the answering challenge occurs three times. The introductory question by the person representing Lucifer is given in German: Wer klopfet an an dieser Porte? The scene closes with the hymn Regina caeli and Christ ist erstanden.

In the Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis . . . . Coloniae 1590[312] there is a Depositio Hostiae:

Resp: Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus . . . .
Vs: In pace factus est locus eius . . . .
Ant: Caro mea requiescat . . . .
Ant: Sepulto domino, signatum est . . . .

In the Elevatio Hostiae, we find a condensed Descensus play with

Ps: Domine, quid multiplicati . . . .
Ant: Ego dormivi et sompnum . . . .

After the corpus is brought back to the choir, the Cum rex glorie . . . , with the Advenisti desiderabilis closes the scene.

In the Rituale of Augsburg 1764[313] the position of the Descensus procession is a very peculiar one, after the Quem quaeritis. In other respects, there is no difference between this and the earlier Tollite portas scenes.

[310] Lange, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterium*, 29:246.

[311] Brandstetter, Karsamstagsprozession in Ruswil, *Zeitschrift fur deutsche Philologie*, 18:459.

[312] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 911.

[313] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 364.

The three extra texts of the Depositio printed by Professor Young in his Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play[314] show the same responses as the texts quoted above.

After looking over these texts and noting the peculiar responses, versicles, and antiphons, which have absolutely no connection with the Gospel of Nicodemus, it seems somewhat strange that we find the remark, "One is tempted to conclude that in this instance (in the Harrowing of Hell plays) liturgical drama may be an adaptation from vernacular drama."[315] A careful comparison of the texts outlined above with some of the early rituals and hymnals shows that there is not the slightest reason for assuming that these extended liturgical presentations and plays might have had any other source but the liturgical one. Everything that is contained in them is found in rituals of a very early date. And the fact that the liturgical plays are an outgrowth of the liturgy is accentuated by the peculiarity, in some plays, of giving only the cue words of the liturgical responses.

To begin with the reconstructed type form offered above, Psalm 24 was used in the Church from earliest times for the Descensus ad Inferos. The Greek sermon of Epiphanius certainly has it. Aldhelm was familiar with the application. We also have hymns of a very early date which take up the words of this psalm in their application to the Descensus doctrine.[316] The Cum rex gloriæ containing the Advenisti desiderabilis is given by Daniel[317] as a Canticum triumphale for Easter. Gautier[318] refers to it as "Antiphona in pascha ad processionem." A comparison of this Canticum with the homily of Augustine quoted in part above will immediately force the conclusion that the antiphonal sequence was taken from that sermon or based upon its source. The similarity is so striking that it can not be regarded as merely a casual resemblance or a fortuitous coincidence. "Hoc canticum verbotenus decerptum ex sermone Augustini."[319]

If, in addition to this, we consider the remaining individual and chorus parts in the Descensus plays, the evidence in favor of purely liturgical origin and development is overwhelming. The material already present in the ordines for the celebration of the Descensus was used in the same order as in the Libri responsales. The following chart, showing the parts of the fully developed Descensus play (Depositio and Elevatio Crusis) shows the liturgical sources.

Depositio

Estimatus sum cum descendentibus . . . . Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori . . . . (Dublin), Resp. sabbato sancto in tertio nocturno.

[314] *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25.
[315] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 947.
[316] Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, 3:365.
[317] Daniel, 2:315.
[318] *Les Tropes*, 200.
[319] Daniel, 2:315.

In pacem in idipsum . . . . (Barking, Dublin, Wiceburg I). Ant. vs. sabbato sancto in primo nocturno.

Miserere mei Deus . . . . (Augustensis I, Indersdorf). Ps. in mat. laud. Parasceve.

Ecce quomodo moritur . . . . (St. Gallen, Moguntinum, Wiceburg II). Resp. sabbato sancto in secundo noct.

This, as well as the following response, is enumerated by Daniel in the list of the antiphons De defunctis.[320]

In pace factus est locus eius . . . . (St. Gallen, Moguntinum, Wiceburg I, Indersdorf). Vs. Sabbato sancto in secundo noct. Ant. tertio noct.

Sepulto domino . . . , ne forte veniant . . . . (Barking, Dublin, St. Gallen, Moguntinum, Wiceburgensis I, Wiceburg II, Indersdorf). Resp. sabbato sancto in primo nocturno. Ant. in Evg.

Recessit pastor noster . . . . Resp. sabbato sancto, in secundo noct.

Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est . . . . (Wiceburg I, Indersdorf). Resp. secundo noct. in vigilia pasch. Sabbato sancto. Resp. in tertio noct.

Caro mea requiescat in spe . . . . (Barking, Dublin, Wiceburg I, Indersdorf). Ant. sabbato sancto in primo nocturno.

Signatum est monumentum . . . . (belonging to the Sepulto domino) . . . . (Dublin, Moguntinum, Wiceburg I, Wiceburg II, Indersdorf). Resp. sabbato sancto in primo noct.

Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis . . . . (Dublin). Ant. sabbato sancto in sec. nocturno.

Exaltabo te domine . . . . Ps. in sec. noct. in vigil. Pasch.

Elevatio

Domine, quid multiplicati . . . . (Wiceburg I, Wiceburg II, Bambergensis, Indersdorf). Ps. sabbato sancto.

Terra tremuit et quievit. Offert. Dom. Pasch. In tertio noct. coena domini.

Exurge domine . . . . (Indersdorf). Vs. in laudibus, ad primam, Dom. in Pass. Feria quinta in coena dom.

Ego dormivi et somnum . . . . (Wiceburgensis I, Wiceburg II, Indersdorf). Ant. ad noct. vigil. Pasch.

O vere digna hostia . . . . (Wiceburg II, Bambergensis), Hymnus paschalis, Daniel 1:88.

Victimae paschali . . . . (Bambergensis) Sequentia paschalis, Daniel 2:95.

It is to be expected, of course, that the Elevatio and the Visitatio should often overlap and that we should find responses such as

Ego sum qui sum . . . . Ant. ad noct. Paschae.

Quare fremuerunt . . . . Ps. primo noct. Parasc. Ad noct. de vigil. Pasch. In primo noct. feria sexta in Parasceve.,

in the introduction of the Quem quaeritis. It is noteworthy in this connection, and strengthens the argument for the liturgical origin of the Church plays, that the texts with their approach to the vernacular apparently discard a great deal of the purely liturgical apparatus and confine themselves to the principal scenes.

[320] Daniel, 2:331.

Relation to the Gospel of Nicodemus

Before entering upon the discussion of the vernacular and the cycle plays, a brief survey of the Gospel of Nicodemus and its probable influence on the Harrowing of Hell play will help to make our position clear; for we do not deny the possibility or even the probability that the subject matter for the English vernacular plays was, to a great extent, taken from the Gospel of Nicodemus. But we do deny the absolute necessity of such a conclusion for the entire field of the early medieval drama, and hope to uphold our contention that in the German field at least, the Gospel of Nicodemus was a secondary source, even in the later plays, while the earlier ones are based upon liturgical sources only. And in a part of the English field at least the liturgy was also the base.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, originally consisting of two parts, the Descensus and the Gesta Pilati[321], gives an account of the circumstances of Christ's descent into hell and the liberating of the fathers from limbo. The most dramatic part is given by Young[322] in Latin and by Carus[323] in English. The characters are Christ, Satan and his spirits, Isaiah, Simeon, John the Baptist, Adam, Seth, David. At the coming of Christ a bright light falls into Hades, causing consternation among the evil spirits, but great rejoicing among the captive just. There is a discussion between Christ and Inferus, while the saints discuss the prophecies concerning Christ. Then comes the Tollite portas scene, at the end of which the patriarchs and prophets are liberated and taken with Christ to glory, while the evil spirits lament.

In the English translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus, this part of the narrative is told in stanzas 108-126.[324] The poetical translation follows the Latin text very faithfully, as may be seen from the passage:

> 3e princes, I bid 3e opin wide,
> 3owre endles 3ates here,
> þe king of blis now in sall glide.

This poem dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, "not far from the beginning of the fourteenth century."[325] Long before this time the Descensus story had shown a definite influence upon the poetry of England. There are fragments of a Harrowing of Hell poem by Cynewulf.[326] There is a prose translation, whose date is fixed as the first half

[321] Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 368; Hulme, *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus;* Wülcker, *Evangelium Nikodemi;* Helm, Hesslers Evangelium Nikodemi, *Beiträge*, 24:85-185; Young, *Harrowing of Hell.*

[322] Young, 890-1.

[323] *History of the Devil.*

[324] Hulme, 104.

[325] Hulme, xxi.

[326] Wülcker, *Das Evangelium Nikodemi*, 12.

of the eleventh century.[327] It is quite complete and exact. The Tollite portas is translated: "Ge caldras, tonymad þa gatu and up âhebbad þa êcan gatu, þat maege in gan se cyng þas êcan vuldres." There is another metrical version dating back to about 1300 (page 19). Then there is, of course, the Piers Plowman with its Descensus story and above all the early vernacular drama of the middle of the thirteenth century.[328] In the earliest manuscript, the Digby manuscript, the dramatis personae are not given, but in the Auchinleck manuscript the personae are inserted: Adam, Eve, Abraham, David, John the Baptist, Moses.

In France the influence of the Gospel of Nicodemus is apparent even at an earlier date than in England.[329] The Speculum historiale of Vincentius Bellovacensis of the thirteenth century contained a complete account of the Descensus, and later translations exerted an even more definite influence.

So far as Germany is concerned, Wülcker makes the assertion that the poem, "Anegenge," of the twelfth century is based upon the Gospel of Nicodemus (page 34). That his claim lacks the foundation which would seem necessary, appears from the poem, "Die Urstende," of the beginning of the thirteenth century (about 1205). The author is Konrad von Heimesfurt, and the Descensus is described in lines 1489-2162. In line 1698 we read:

> Cum rex glorie Christus:
> Do der eren chunic Christ,
> der aller tugende orthab ist,
> ze der helle chomon solte . . . .[330]

It will suffice, for the present, to call attention to the "Cum rex glorie Christus," and to state that a German poem of the year 1465, entitled "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz auf das jungst gericht gereymt,"[331] which has the Harrowing of Hell incident, is undoubtedly based upon liturgical sources. The first complete metrical translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus in German was that by Hessler, written about 1300 to 1330, containing the characters, Adam, Isaiah, Simeon, John the Baptist, David, Habakkuk, Micha.[332]

German Descent Plays

In looking over the extant and accessible German plays in the vernacular, the evidence of the liturgical origin from the liturgical element

[327] Wülcker, 13.

[328] Hulme, 2; Kirkland, *A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem: The Harrowing of Hell;* Mall, *The Harrowing of Hell.*

[329] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[330] Hahn, *Gedichte des 12 und 13 Jahrhunderts.* Wülcker, 34-5.

[331] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

[332] Helm, Hesslers Evangelium Nikodemi, *Beiträge*, 24:85-185.

present is overwhelming. In the fragment of the Kloster Muri play, called by Bartsch,[333] "Das älteste deutsche Passionsspiel," we have the scene,

Diabolus: Wer mac noh dirre kuenic sin?
Jesu: want ih cerstoere uih als ein her
mit gewalt iuwer tor . . . .
tuont uf die porten witen,
old ih stoze si danider . . . .
Animae (canunt): Advenisti desiderabilis . . . .

We have shown above that the antiphon Cum rex glorie, with the Advenisti desiderabilis was an ancient response based on a homily of Augustine. Its presence both in the poem, "Die Urstende," and in the Kloster Muri play certainly argues for the liturgy as at least the principal, if not the only, source of this part of the narrative.

In the Egerer Spiel[334] we have, after the fastening of the seal and the setting of the watch:

Gabriel: Terra tremuit et quievit . . . .
Exurge, quare obdormis, domine. Exurge . . . .
Salvator canit et surgit
Ego dormivi et sompnum . . . .
Deinde vlterius canit et surgit totaliter
Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum.

And then finally follows

Christus: Tollite portas . . . .

In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of the Frankfurter Passionsspiele, about 1350-1380[335] Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus bury Christ, chanting: Ecce quomodo moritur justus . . . . . When the watch marches out to the grave "persone cantabunt:" Sepulto Domino . . . . In the Tollite portas scene, the usual sequence of events is retained. At the opening of the gates of Hades "Adam et alie . . . . . cantabunt: Advenisti desiderabilis . . . . . After leading the souls to heaven, "dominica persona" returns to the tomb, the men of the watch are terrified by the thunderous noise, and the Lord appears risen. The scene closes with: Terra tremuit et quievit . . . . It should be noted here that the Frankfurter Passion of 1493, the Alsfelder of 1501, and the Heidelberger of 1513 are based on the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle.

In the Pfarrkircher Passion of 1486[336] two angels at the tomb chant in unison: Exurge, quare obdormis, domine . . . . Salvator, awakening in the tomb, chants: Ego dormivi et sompnum cepi . . . . . Then

[333] *Germania*, 8:273.
[334] *Germania*, 3:267.
[335] Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 363.
[336] Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Schauspiele aus Tirol*, 199.

follows the Tollite portas scene in the usual form. The patriarchs and prophets mentioned are Adam, Ysaias, Symeon, Johannes Waptista, Seth, David. After the breaking down of the portals, Salvator chants: Venite, benedicti patris mey . . . . The fathers answer joyfully: Advenisti, desiderabilis . . . . The American and the Bozener Passion agree, with only slight divergences, with the above text.

In the Brixener Passion[337] the earthquake is followed by the responses: Terra tremuit et quievit . . . . Then the angels chant at the tomb: Exurge, quare obdormis . . . . The remaining part corresponds to the Pfarrkircher Passion. In the Haller Passion[338] there is a stage direction: Post hoc canunt rigmum: Ecce quomodo moritur justus . . . . There is also a Harrowing of Hell scene in the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.[339]

In the Alsfelder Passionsspiel of 1501,[340] mention of which was made above, the part of "Christi Höllenfahrt" is introduced with the procession ad infernum and the chant: En rex glorie . . . . usque advenisti desiderabilis. Dein animae infernales cantent advenisti . . . . . The Tollite portas scene follows, during which the En rex glorie . . . . . is repeated. Several unusual responses are then introduced:

Quare rubrum est ergo indumentum tuum . . . .
Torcular calcani solus, de gentibus non erat . . . .
Alpha et O . . . .

These antiphons were used during the Lenten season and on Easter day (*Sarum Processional* and *Breviary*).

The souls enumerated in this case are Adam, Eva, Symeon, Johannes, Daniel, Moyses. Salvator vocat Venite benedicti patris mei . . . . . Tunc animae infernales Miserere, miserere populo tuo . . . . . The condemned souls are told: Amen, amen, dico vobis, nescio vos . . . . The hymn follows: Jesu, nostra redempcio.

From these plays, the evidence in favor of the liturgical origin of the German vernacular plays would seem to be incontrovertible. Every one of the responses which forms the framework of the plays may be traced to the liturgy of Easter time. In addition to those shown in the chart above, the following may be added:

Terra tremuit et quievit . . . . In tertio noct. in cena Dom.
Venite, benedicti patris mei . . . . Ant. Feria quarta in Pasch.
Exurge, domine . . . . Feria quinta in cena domini, in secundo nocturno.
Quare rubrum . . . . A common response in regard to the suffering and victory of Christ. Daniel 2:365.
Regina caeli jubila . . . . Easter hymn. Daniel 2:365.

[337] Wackernell, 421.
[338] Wackernell, 339.
[339] *Germania*, 4:338.
[340] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 3:477.

Even if one should want to argue that the Descensus subject matter in the German field was taken from the Gospel of Nicodemus, the fact that the entire plot is carried by the liturgical responses and that the Descensus story was a tradition in the Church outside of the Pseudo-Gospel would more than counterbalance the argument.

English Harrowing of Hell Plays

The case is somewhat different in the English field. In the Sadilers Play of York we have the characters Adam, Eua, Isaiah, Symeon, Johannes Baptista, Moyses, David. The scene Attollite portas, principes . . . . is there, closed with the prayer of David:

Ne derelinquas, domine,
Animam meam (in) inferno.

I have not been able to find this verse in the Pseudo-Gospel, but it is found in the liturgy, Ant. sabbato sancto in primo noct.

In the Incipit extraccio animarum of the Towneley cycle we have a version almost identical with that of York. There is only an additional opening hymn, "Salvator mundi."

In the Cookes Plaie of Chester it is expressly stated that the "pagina" is "secundum euangelium Nicodemi."

In the Coventry Mysteries the story is divided between the "Descent into Hell" and "The Resurrection," and seems to be based entirely upon the Gospel of Nicodemus and earlier vernacular versions, as the presence of the "Harde gatys have I gon" would seem to indicate.

In the Cornish Drama Resurrexio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi[341] the entire structure, as well as the subject matter, makes it evident that the Gospel of Nicodemus was the source of the play in question.

So far as the English cycle plays, then, are concerned, it appears that there is little, if any, liturgical influence perceptible. The fact that in every case but the Cornish the command for the opening of the gates of Hades is in the Latin, as well as the Ne derelinquas, domine . . . . in the York and Towneley collections, might be cited to show the last faint evidence of liturgical influence in the dramaturgical methods of the time, since plays had existed long before that age, in which *every* part of the Descensus scene had been translated. I am inclined to believe that the structure of the York and Towneley plays in this case is liturgical and that this outline was amplified with subject matter from the Gospel of Nicodemus or similar sources.

The case is similar in France, as the Mystere de la Passion de nostre seigneur, par Jehan Michel, of the end of the fifteenth century[342] shows.

[341] Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama.*

[342] Wülcker, 60-1.

Summing up the conclusions in regard to the Descensus plays, we have the following: Under the influence of the Descensus doctrine, whose public confession was fixed for the Great Sabbath, a liturgy with expressed dramatic character was collated for that day. This liturgy and the sermons upon which it was based were the source of the Latin plays of the Descensus and furnished the material for them. If there was no special Descensus play, the material of the liturgy was apparently used as an introduction to Easter plays. There is nothing in the liturgical plays that makes the argument that they were derived from extra-ecclesiastical sources, a serious, much less a cogent one. There is something in all vernacular plays, except the Cornish, that points to liturgical source or influence. The German plays clearly show the liturgical influence, the English and French in a very slight degree, if at all.

THE RESURRECTION SERIES,

INCLUDING THE ASCENSION AND THE PENTECOST PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Lange, *Lateinische Osterfeiern.*
Young, *Harrowing of Hell.*
Young, *Some Texts of Liturgical Plays.*
Young, *A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen.*
Young, *Origin of the Easter Play.*
Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana.*
Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern.*
Du Meril, *Origines du theatre moderne.*
Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama.*
Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.*
Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele.*
Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol.*
York Plays, XXXVIII-XLIV.
Towneley Mysteries, XXVI-XXIX.
Ludus Coventriae, XXXV-XL.
Chester Whitsun Plays, XIX-XXII.
Cornish Resurrexio.
Digby Resurrection.

No part of the field of the liturgical drama has been studied so thoroughly as that of the Resurrection plays. The most prominent investigators of the Latin Easter plays are Milchsack, W. Meyer, Lange, Cady, and, lastly, Professor Young. Lange in his "Lateinische Osterfeiern" discussed the growth of the Quem quaeritis from the simplest trope to the most advanced stage of the liturgical play, and accompanied his charts with concise, but very clear commentary. Doctor Young in one of his latest articles, "The Origin of the Easter Play,"[343] presents a history of the Quem quaeritis trope and reviews all the additions to the trope and the liturgical plays based upon the trope while this was still associated with the church services. He begins by discussing the origin of the Quem quaeritis trope, saying that its composition was probably suggested by the passage John 18:4-8, in the reading of the Passio Magna on Good Friday,[344] and that its text was suggested by various responses of the Easter liturgy. The authorship of the trope may be quite definitely ascribed to Tutilo of St. Gall, about 900 A.D. The early development of the trope is marked by

[343] *Publications Modern Language Association*, 29:1.

[344] *Cf.* Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25:309.

liturgical additions and extensions, such as: Hora est, psallite . . . . . Later on, there are additions to the text which contain dramatic possibilities, such as Alleluia, resurrexit dominus; En, ecce, completum est; Ite, nuntiate in Galilaeam, and others. And finally there was an addition of dramatic setting and action, one person representing the angel, and two the Maries, the white dalmatics being used as appropriate dresses, etc. Professor Young prints a text from Brescia (page 47) as presenting a completely dramatized form of the Quem quaeritis trope in its attachment to the Easter Introit. Dr. Young's article is accompanied by so much evidence in the form of texts and references that even one not familiar with the liturgy will have no difficulty in following the line of argument. With the aid of this article and the monograph of Lange mentioned above, it will be possible to present the discussion of the Officium Sepulcri, at least in the Latin field, in the form of a brief summary.

The idea of Milchsack that the Quem quaeritis trope originated at the suggestion of the Vulgate text has been shown by Lange[345] and by Professor Young (page 7) to be incorrect. The probability is that the entire story would have been used at once, if taken from the Vulgate text, instead of the dialogue form of the trope type, which shows such a marked divergence from the Vulgate text, exhibiting, at the same time, a decided similarity to the service text. The earliest form of the Quem quaeritis trope was evidently the following:

Quem quaeritis?
Jesum Nazarenum (crucifixum).
Non est hic,
Surrexit.

This type form, with the addition of either Quis revolvet nobis ab ostio, or Venite et videte . . . . . from the service, or of both, is found in approximately sixty texts, printed by Milchsack, Du Meril, Lange, and Professor Young. The following is a condensed list of the additions in the development of the Officium Sepulcri, all of which are taken either from the liturgy or from liturgical material (sequences and hymns.)

Cito cuntes dicite . . . .
Ad monumentum venimus gementes . . . .
Cernitis, O socii, ecce . . . .
The sequence Victimae paschali.
Currebant duo simul . . . .
The Mary Magdalene scene: Mulier, quid ploras . . . . Noli me tangere . . . .
Dicant nunc Judei . . . .
Surrexit pastor bonus . . . .
Surrexit dominus de sepulcro . . . .

The texts containing one or several of these additions have been printed

[345] Page 19.

by Du Meril,[346] Milchsack,[347] Lange,[348] and Young,[349] and number approximately two hundred. And this number, in spite of its size, does not contain any duplicates.

Transition Plays

The Officium Sepulcri in the transition stage retained the customary amount of prominent liturgical material. In a Latin-German play, Ludus de nocte pascha,[350] we find the following Latin tags:

Prima Maria: Heu nobis internas mentes . . . .
Sed eamus unguentum emere . . . .
Quem quaeritis . . . .
Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum . . . .
Non est hic quem quaeritis . . . .
Venite et videte . . . .
Ad monumentum venimus gementes . . . .
Mary Magdalene scene.
Victimae paschali.

In an Easter play of the Appearance to Mary Magdalene of Munich,[351] the following occurs:

Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia . . . .
Planctus, in German: We der maere . . . .
Jam processit dominica persona, que stans cantat ad Mariam Mulier quid ploras . . . .
Maria: Domine, si tu sustulisti . . . .
Dom: Maria.
Mar: Rabboni, quod dicitur magister . . . .
Dom: Prima quidem suffragia . . . .

In the Ludus immo exemplum Dominice resurrectionis of Munich,[352] we find the following arrangement:

Cantatis matutinis in die Pasche omnes persone ad ludum disposite sint parate in loco speciali secundum suum modum et procedant ad locum ubi sit sepulcrum.
Primum veniat Pilatus et uxor sua cum magnis luminibus, militibus precedentibus, assessoribus sequentibus . . . .
Ingressus Pilatus . . . .
Pontifices: O domine recte meminimus . . . .
The Jews request a watch of Pilate; the setting of the watch.
Tunc veniant duo angeli, unus ferensensem flammeum et vestem rubeam et crucem in manu . . . .

[346] *Origines latines du théâtre moderne.*
[347] *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern.*
[348] *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern.*
[349] *Some Texts . . . ; Harrowing of Hell;* and elsewhere.
[350] Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 25.
[351] Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, 144.
[352] Meyer, *Fragmenta burana.*

Surge victor rex glorie qui . . . . hodie . . . .
Dom. persona: Ego dormivi et sompnum . . . .
All: Resurrexit victor ab inferis . . . .
The coming of the three Maries. The Apotecarius.
Planctus: Sed eamus et ad eius . . . .
Heu nobis internas mentes . . . .
Iam percusso . . . .
Quis revolvet . . . .

The fragment is evidently the remainder of a complete Easter morning play.

Even in the Officium Resurrectionis of the Shrewsbury Fragments[353] the same material is in evidence, in spite of the fact that only the part of the third Mary has been preserved.

III Maria: Heu Redempcio Israel . . . .
Heu Cur ligno fixus clavis . . . .
All three: Iam, iam ecce, iam properemus . . . .
Et approprinquantes sepulcro cantent:
O Deus quis revolvet nobis . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
III Maria: Surrexit Christus, spes nostra,
Praecedet vos in Galilaeam.

How completely the composers of the church and transition plays depended upon the liturgy for their material, may be seen from the following chart, which shows the liturgical source of all notable additions to the Quem quaeritis trope in the complete Easter play.

(a) Ego sum qui . . . . Ant. ad noct. Paschae.
(b) Quare fremuerunt . . . . Ps. in primo noct. Parasceve. Ad noct. de vigil. Paschae.
(c) Ego dormivi . . . . Ant. ad noct. de vigil. Paschae.
(d) Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit . . . . Resp. feria quinta Pascha.
(e) Surrexit dominus de sepulcro . . . . Vs. in matut. laudibus Pasch. Vs. Feria secunda, feria quinta Pasch.
(f) Surrexit dominus vere et apparuit . . . . Vs. in matut. laudibus. Vs. in feria secunda. Ant. in Evg. feria secunda Pasch.
Consurgit Christus tumulo . . . . Hymn, Easter.
(g) Maria M. et Maria J. cum transisset . . . . Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch.
(h) Una sabbati . . . . Ant. octav. Pasch.
Valde mane una sabbatorum . . . . Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch. Ant. in matut. laudibus Pasch.
Te lucis auctor . . . . Hymnus paschalis. Daniel 1:258.
(i) Jesu nostra redempcio . . . . . Hymnus de ascensione. Daniel 1:63. Hymnus paschalis, D'Avranches, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis.*
(j) Heu nobis internas mentes . . . .
Heu redempcio Israel . . . .
Heu cur ligno fixus . . . .
Heu cur fuit ille natus . . . .
Heu quantus est dolor noster . . . .

See above, in Chapter on Planctus.

[353] Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama.* Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.*

(k) Ingressus Pilatus . . . . Ant. Meyer, *Fragmenta burana.*
(l) Ardens est cor nostrum . . . . Ant. ad vesp. feria quinta Pasch.
(m) Quis revolvet . . . . Ant. in matut. laudibus. Pasch.
Venite, venite, adoremus dominum . . . . Ant.
Hortum praedestinatio . . . . Sequence, twelfth century, Einsiedeln, Du Meril.

(n)
- Quem quaeritis in sepulcro . . . . Ant. ad vesp. de Evg. sabbato sancto. Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch. Ad vesp. Pasch.
- Jesum Nazarenum . . . . same as previous one.
- Non est hic surrexit . . . . Ant. in matut. laudibus Pasch. Ad vesp. Pasch.
- Venite et videte . . . . Ant. ad vesp. de Evg. Sabbato sancto. Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch. Ant. ad vesp. Pasch.

(o) Cito euntes . . . . same as the foregoing.

(p)
- Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina . . . .
- Ad monumentum venimus . . . .
- En angeli aspectum vidimus . . . .
- Cum venissem ungere . . . .
- Dolor crescit tremunt praecordia . . . .
- En lapis est vere depositus . . . .

Composed after suggestion of Easter story.

(q) Currebant duo simul . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
Surrexit enim sicut vos . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
(r) Angelus domini desc . . . . Ant. ad vesp. in Evg. sabbato sancto. Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch.
(s) Nolite timere vos . . . . Ant. ad vesp. in Evg. sabbato sancto. Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch.
Dicant nunc Judei . . . . Vs. in Pasch.
Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur . . . . Ant. ad complet. feria quarta. Pasch.
(t) Victimae paschali . . . . Sequentia paschalis. Daniel 2:95.

(u)
- Mulier, quid ploras, quem quaeris?
- Tulerunt dominum . . . .
- Domine si tu . . . .
- Rabboni.
- Noli me tangere . . . .

} Vs. in matut. laudibus Pasch. Feria quinta Pasch. Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch.

Christus vivens laniatur, Ergo clausa . . . . Hymn.
(v) Alleluia. Resurrexit dominus, surrexit leo fortis, Christus filius Dei . . . . Resp. feria quarta Pasch.
Ergo die exultemus astra, solum, mare . . . . Sequentia paschalis. Daniel 2:13.
Regina caeli jubila . . . . Easter hymn. Daniel 2:365.
Deus in adiutorium . . . . Ant. Complet. in vigil. Pasch.

As will be seen from the chart, the majority of the speeches are taken directly from the liturgy. Most of them are found in the Liber responsalis and the Liber antiphonarius of Gregory the Great.[354] That the Easter service was hardly changed in the following centuries, appears from the Sarum Breviary, where the same responses will be found in practically the

[354] Migne, 78.

same places. All of this proves with great definiteness, that the Latin Officium Sepulcri, including the Planctus, the Visitatio, the Hortulanus, and the Apostle scene, grew out of the liturgy and even took most of the speeches word for word from the liturgy.

Peregrini

The Peregrini, with its extension of the Incredulity of Thomas, did not have the basis of a trope, but was taken from the responses of the liturgy directly. The story of the Pilgrims of Emmaus is carried in full in the antiphons of Feria secunda in hebdomada Paschae:[355]

Qui sunt hi sermones quos confertis . . . .
Respondens autem unus . . . . Tu solus peregrinus . . . .
Quibus ille dixit: Quae?
Et dixerunt de Jesu Nazareno . . . .
Et incipiens de Moysi . . . .
Et coegerunt eum dicentes: Mane nobiscum . . . .
Et intravit cum illis . . . .
Mane nobiscum, quoniam advesperascit . . . .
Nonne cor nostrum . . . .

With this story material and the many impressive and dramatic passages in the Easter services, it was a most natural thing for the composers of church plays to adopt the suggestion. The type form of the Peregrini is the following:

Hymn: Jesu nostra redempcio . . . .
Dominus: Quae sunt hi sermones . . . .
Cleophas: Tu solus peregrinus . . . .
Dominus: Quae?
Discipuli: De Jesu Nazareno . . . .
Dominus: O stulti et tardi corde . . . .
Discipuli: Mane nobiscum . . . .
Alleluia.
Nonne cor nostrum . . . .

An examination of the available texts yields the following results:

Office de Voyageurs, Ordinarium secundum usum Ecclesiae Rothomagensis, fourteenth century,[356] contains the type form as given above and closes with the Victimae paschali.

Officium Peregrinorum, Rouen, thirteenth century,[357] shows no marked divergence from the type form.

Officium Peregrinorum, Rouen, fifteenth century,[358] has a much more

[355] Migne, 78:771.
[356] Du Meril, 117.
[357] Young, *Modern Philology*, 6:212.
[358] Young, 222.

elaborate setting, but the text has remained practically unchanged, containing the type form and the sequence, as outlined above.

In a Versus de Pelegrinis, of Vich, eleventh century,[359] the Hortulanus scene of Easter morning is combined with the Peregrini, which includes all the speeches up to De Jhesu nazareno. The play ends with a versus:

Ubi est Christus meus dominus . . . .
En ecce completum . . . .

In an Officium Peregrinorum of Madrid, Troparium-Prosarium, twelfth century,[360] the play is expanded in the latter half, after Emmaus has been reached:

Mane nobiscum . . . .
Mihi longum iter restat . . . .
Sol uergens ad occasum suadet . . . .
Et intravit cum illis . . . .

After the revelation and the Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat, a speech is introduced which really belongs to the evening apparition:

Pax vobis, ego sum. Nolite timere . . . .

The play closes with Surrexit dominus.

In the Mystere de l'Apparition a Emmaus of Orleans[361] the scene at Emmaus is expanded with portions from speeches of Christ contained in the Easter liturgy:

Pacem relinquo vobis . . . .
Isti sunt sermones quos dicebam vobis . . . .

Then follows the appearance on the evening of Easter day:

Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere . . . .
Quis est iste, qui venit de Edom . . . .
Pax vobis . . . .
Iste formosus in stola sua . . . .
Pax vobis . . . .
Quid turbati estis et cogitationes . . . .
Videte manus meas et pedes meos . . . .
Palpate et videte, quia spiritus . . . .
Accipite spiritum sanctum . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Adam novus veterem duxit ad astra . . . .

There is, finally, the Incredulity scene:

Thomas, vidimus dominum.
Nisi videro . . . .
Pax vobis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Deus dominus et illuxit nobis.
Haec est dies quam fecit dominus . . . .

[359] Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:306.

[360] Young, 329.

[361] Du Meril, 120.

Thoma fer digitum . . . .
Dominus meus et Deus meus!
Quia vidisti me, Thoma . . . . Data est mihi omnis potestas . . . . Non vos relinquam orphanos . . . . Vado et veniam ad vos . . . . Et gaudebit cor vestrum . . . .
Euntes in mundum universum . . . . Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit.
Salve festa dies!

There will be occasion farther on to speak of the fact that these speeches are taken from antiphons and service parts, not only of Eastertide, but also of the Ascension and Pentecost season.

The Peregrini and Incredulity play printed by Meyer[362] is very complete, containing the Emmaus Disciples, the Appearance on the Evening of Easter Day, the Incredulity, and finally a scene in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, Maria Jacobi, and Maria Salome appear.

I

Surrexit Christus et illuxit . . . .
Qui sunt hii sermones quos confertis . . . .
Tu solus peregrinus . . . .
Que?
Nos loquimur de Jesu Nazareno . . . .
O stulti et tardi corde . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Clerus. Et coegerunt eum dicentes . . . .
Mane nobiscum . . . .
Tunc vadat cum discipulis . . . .
Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat . . . . Aevia.

II

Tunc Jesus appareat discipulis . . . .
Pax vobis, ego sum . . . . Aevia. nolite timere . . . . Aevia.
Clerus cantent. Thomas qui dicitur . . . .
Dixerunt alii discipuli: Vidimus dominum, aevia.
Tunc Jesus monstrat manus et pedes et cantet:
Videte manus meas . . . .
Christus resurgens a mortuis . . . .

III

Tunc apostoli conferentes . . . .
Vidimus dominum. aevia.
Thomas respondet illis: Nisi mittam digitos . . . .
Tunc appareat Jesus secundo . . . .
Pax vobis, ego sum . . . .
Et clerus cantet Post dies octo januis clausis . . . .
Tercio apparet. Pax vobis . . . .
Tunc dicit ad Thomam Mitte manum tuam . . . .
Dominus meus et deus meus. aevia.

[362] *Fragmenta burana*, 136.

Jesus dicit: Quia vidisti me . . . .
Tunc apostoli simul cantent ymnum Jesu nostra redemptio . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Hoc finito producatur mater domini; cum ea duo angeli portantes sceptra, et cum ea Maria Jacobi et Maria Salome:
Egredimini, filie Syon, regem Salomonem in dyademate . . . .
Vox turturis audita est in turribus Jerusalem . . . .
Respondet Maria Veniat dilectus Dominus . . . . Commedi . . . . Mar. Talis est dilectus . . . . Dominus. Tota pulcra . . . .

This last part reminds one very strongly of the service for the Mary festivals, which will be considered in a special chapter on the Mary plays, where this incident will also be discussed.

In the Officium Peregrinorum of the Shrewsbury Fragments[363] the part of Cleophas has been preserved, while the Incredulity is indicated as about to begin.

Feria secunda in ebdomada pasche discipuli insimul cantent:
Infedelis incursum populi
Fugiamus jhesu discipuli . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Cleophas: Et quoniam tradiderunt eum summi sacerdotes . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Dixerunt etiam se visionem angelorum vidisse . . . .
Mane nobiscum, quoniam aduesperascit. Alleluya.
Chorus: Gloria tibi, Domine, Qui surrexisti a mortuis . . . .
Chorus: Frater Thomas, causa tristicie,
Nobis tulit summa leticie!

The Mysterium of Tours[364] is the most complete Easter text printed till now, and includes all the events from the Setting of the Watch to the Incredulity.

The setting of the watch by Pilate.
The three Maries. Omnipotens pater altissime . . . . The Planctus.
Mercator.
Continuation of the Planctus.
Quis revolvet . . . .
Quem quaeritis . . . . The usual form to the Euntes dicite discipulis.
The soldiers report the resurrection to Pilate.
Planctus of Mary Magdalene.
Mulier quid ploras . . . . Quia tulerunt . . . .
A second Quem quaeritis . . . . Viventem cum mortuis . . . .
Remorse of Peter. Tristes erant apostoli . . . .
Mary Magdalene. Jesu nostra redemptio . . . .
The appearance on the evening of Easter day. Pax vobis . . . . Nolite timere . . . .
Incredulity of Thomas. Thomas mitte . . . . Dominus meus . . . .
Victimae paschali.
Te deum laudamus.

[363] Manly, xxxiii.
[364] Milchsack, 97.

This is certainly a very elaborate attempt at cycle building, showing that the liturgical plays were made the basis, and that their tags always occupied very prominent positions. The independent additions from the Gospels and Pseudo-Gospels were made subordinate to the rest.

The liturgical source of the various speeches and hymns in the Peregrini and Incredulity plays may be seen from the following table:

Peregrini

Hec dies . . . . Gradule. Resp. feria quarta Pasch. Ad vesp. in Evg.
(a′) In exitu Israel . . . . Ps 113. Feria secunda Pasch.
(b′) Jesu nostra redempcio . . . . Hymn for Easter, D'Avranches, *Liber de officiis eccl.*
(c′) Qui sunt ii sermones . . . . / Tu solus peregrinus . . . . / Quae? / De Jesu Nazareno . . . . } Ant. feria secunda Pasch.
(d′) O stulti et tardi corde . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
(e′) Mane nobiscum, quoniam . . . . Ant. feria secunda Pasch.
Sol occasum expetit . . . . Hymn, feria secunda. Pasch.
(f′) Nonne cor nostrum . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
Victimae paschali . . . . Sequentia paschalis, Daniel 2:95.

Appearance on Easter Evening

(g′) Pacem relinquo vobis . . . . Resp. in noct. Asc.
(h′) Isti sunt sermones quos dicebam . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch. Ant. feria tertia in Evg. Pasch.
(i′) Surrexit dominus et apparuit Petro. All. Ant. feria secunda Pasch.
(j′) Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch. Resp. Dom. oct. Pasch.
(k′) Quis est iste qui venit . . . . / Iste formosus in stola . . . . } Is. 63:1 ff. Of Christ's victory. *Sarum Processional.*
Surrexit dominus de sepulcro . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
(l′) Quid turbati estis et cogitationes ascendunt . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
(m′) Videte manus meas . . . . / Palpate et videte . . . . } Ant. oct. pasch.
(n′) Accipite spiritum sanctum . . . . Ant. in Evg. Pentec. Sabbato in Pasch. Ant. in Evg.
Adam novus veterem duxit ad astra . . . . Apparently a sequence for Easter season.

Incredulity

(o′) Thomas vidimus dominum . . . . / Nisi videro in manibus eius . . . . / Pax vobis, benedictus qui . . . . } Addition from the Gospel lesson(?).
(q′) Thoma, fer digitum . . . . / Dominus meus et deus meus . . . . / Quia vidisti, Thoma . . . . } Ant. sabbato in albis, ad vesp.
(r′) Data est mihi omnis potestas . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
(s′) Non vobis relinquam orphanos . . . . Resp. in sec. noct. vesp. Asc.

(t′) Vado et veniam ad vos . . . . Ant. in Evg. Pentec.
(u′) Et gaudebit cor vestrum . . . . Resp. vs. in noct. Asc.
(v′) Euntes in mundum universum . . . . Ant. oct. Pasch.
(w′) Qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit . . . . Resp. in primo noct. vigil. Pentecost.
(x′) Salve festa dies . . . . Elegiac poem, Du Meril, page 120.

These antiphons and responses, which were used so freely for the liturgical plays, also furnish the connecting link between the Easter season proper on the one hand and the Ascension and Pentecost plays on the other. The Gospel readings during the time from Easter till Pentecost were taken mainly from John 14 and 15. A good many of the antiphons and versicles of this season are therefore also from these last speeches of Jesus. And they are the very ones that are found in the cycle plays, and their presence can hardly be explained in any other way but that the liturgy was their basis and principal source.

Ascension and Pentecost

It is quite true, of course, that the Quem quaeritis trope was adapted for the Ascension service.[365] But this trope apparently never developed into a liturgical play. There were also special Ascension plays, one of which, that of St. Gall, was introduced with the Incredulity of Thomas.[366] Alt[367] describes some Ascension day customs which might be remnants of liturgical plays, since the antiphons Ascendit deus in jubilatione . . . . Ascendo ad patrem meum et ad patrum vestrum . . . , Viri Galilaei, quid adspicitis . . . . seem to indicate such an origin. Similar customs during the week of Pentecost may be explained in the same way.[368] There may even have been Easter cycles in the Latin or transition periods which included the Ascension and Pentecost. But so far as the English cycles are concerned, no other conclusions seems to be justified but this, that they show definite liturgical influence.

The service for Ascension, according to Gregory the Great[369] includes principally the following antiphons:

From the Gospel lesson:

(a″) Eduxit dominus discipulos suos foras in Bethaniam . . . .
Post passionem suam per dies quadraginta apparens eis . . . .
Et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum, All.
Viri Galilaei, quid adspicitis . . . .

[365] Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:309. Creizenach, 69.
[366] Creizenach, 250.
[367] *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 378.
[368] Page 385.
[369] Migne, 78:780.

From John 17:

(b″) Pater manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi . . . .
Pater sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo . . . .
Pater sancte, haec est vita aeterna . . . .
Pater juste, mundus te non cognovit . . . .

From the last speeches and other sources:

(c″) Ascendens Christus in altum, captivam duxit . . . .
(d″) Nisi ego abiero, Paracletus non venit . . . .
(e″) Non turbetur cor vestrum . . . .
(f″) Ascendit Deus in jubilatione . . . .
(g″) Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum . . . .
(h″) Non vos relinquam orphanos . . . .

These are only the principal antiphons (most of which are repeated), given here to show the scope of the service material.

In the liturgy for Pentecost we find a similar condition. The entire story is there carried in the responsoria (Col. 782 ff):

(i″) Dum complerentur dies Pentecostes . . . .
Et subito factus est de caelo sonus . . . .
Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto . . . .
Apparuerunt apostolis dispertitae . . . .
Et coeperunt loqui variis linguis . . . .
Facta autem hac voce convenit . . . .
Nonne omnes ecce isti qui loquuntur . . . .

In addition to this, there are many antiphons taken from the last speeches of Christ.

(j″) Iam non dicam vos servos, sed . . . .
(k″) Accipite spiritum sanctum . . . .
(l″) Ite in orbem universum et . . . .
(m″) Signa eis qui in me credunt . . . .
(n″) Audistis quia dictum est: Vado et venio . . . .

The significance of this table will appear in the discussion of the Pentecost plays of the cycles.

Having now given the liturgical basis of the various plays in the complete Easter cycle and traced the development of the individual plays in the Latin and transitional stages, we are in a position to judge as to the presence of the liturgical element in the cycle plays, in both the German and English fields.

German Easter Plays

The oldest German Passionsspiel, of the beginning of the thirteenth century[370] contains an Ungentarius and a Hortulanus scene, and the Quem quaeritis is quite plain:

[370] *Germania*, 8:273.

ir guoten wip, wen suchent ir
alsus vruo in disem grabe?
Jesum von Nazaret . . . .
der ist hiute erstanden
von des todes banden . . . .(n).

In the liturgical poem Biblische Geschichte von der Beschaffung diser Welt, etc.,[371] the Resurrection, the Ascension, and Pentecost are included, in the Friedberger[372] only the Resurrection.

In the Egerer Spiel,[373] structure and subject-matter were taken over from the liturgical field.

Maria S: Omnipotens pater altissime . . . . }
Secunda M: Amisimus enim solacium . . . . }
Tercia M: Sed eamus unguentum emere . . . } (j)
Prima M: Heu nobis internas mentes . . . . }
Secunda M: Jam percusso . . . . }
Tercia M: Sed eamus et ad eius . . . . } (j)
Chorus: Maria Magdalena et alia Maria . . . . (g).
Scene of Medicus.
The Visitatio.
Hymn: Jesu nostra redempcio . . . . (i).
Maria M: Cum venissem ungere mortuum . . .
En lapis vere est depositus . . . (p).
Hortulanus.
Maria M: Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia . . . . (p).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Jesus: Ergo noli me tangere . . . . (u).
Victimae paschali . . . . (t).
Peter and John run to the grave.
Incredulity of Thomas.
Christ ist erstanden.

The Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel of 1497[374] contains only the Resurrection. In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of about 1350[375] the following are the liturgical tags:

Easter Morning

Heu quantus est noster dolor . . . .
Heu nobis internas mentes . . . .
Jam percusso ceu pastore . . . .
Sed eamus et ad eius . . . .
Omnipotens pater altissime . . . .
Amisimus enim solacium . . . .
Sed eamus ungentem emere . . . . (j).

[371] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.
[372] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 7:545.
[373] *Germania*, 3:267.
[374] *Germania*, 4:338.
[375] Froning, 336.

Mercator

Heu quantus est noster dolor . . . . (j).
Dum transisset sabbatum . . . . (g).
Quis revolvet nobis lapidem . . . .
Quem quaeritis . . . .
Jhesum nazarenum . . . .
Non est hic, quem quaeritis . . . .
Venite et videte . . . . (n).
Ad monumentum venimus gementes . . . . (p).

Mary Magdalene

Cum venissem ungere mortuum . . . .
En lapis est . . . .
Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia . . . . (p).
Heu redempcio Israel . . . . (j).
Mulier, quid ploras . . . .
Tulerunt dominum . . . .
Maria! Rabbi!
Ergo noli me tangere . . . . (u).
Victimae paschali . . . . (t).
Surrexit dominus de sepulcro . . . . (e).
Currebant duo simul . . . . (q).
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Pax vobis . . . . (j').
Ite nuntiate fratribus meis . . . .
Surrexit dominus et apparuit Petro . . . . (i').

Peregrini

Qui sunt hii sermones . . . .
Tu solus peregrinus . . . . (c').
Mane nobiscum . . . . (e').
Nonne cor nostrum . . . . (f').
Surrexit dominus vere . . . .

Thomas

Pax vobis . . . . (j').

Ascension

Summi triumphi re . . . .
Pacem meam do vobis . . . . Resp. Asc. (g').
Ascendo ad patrem meum . . . . Ant. in Evg. Asc. (g'').
Concedit jubilans . . . .
Viri Galylei . . . . Ant. Asc. (a'').

In the Pfarrkircher Passion[376] there is a Visitatio, a Hortulanus, and an Incredulity, and the evidence for the absoluteness of liturgical influence is particularly strong:

[376] Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, 181.

Heu nobis internas mentes . . . . (j).
Omnipotens pater altissime . . . .
Amisimus enim solacium . . . .
Sed eamus et ad eius . . . .
Quis revolvet nobis . . . . (m).
Quem quaeritis, o tremule mulieres . . . .
Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum . . . .
Non est hic quem quaeritis . . . .
Venite et videte locum . . . . (n).
Ad monumentum venimus gementes . . . . (p).
Mulier, quid ploras . . . .
Domine, si tu sustulisti . . . . (u).
Heu redempcio Israel . . . . (j).
Maria. Raby.
Sancte Deus, Sancte fortis, Sancte et immortalis, miserere mey!
Ergo noli me tangere . . . . (u).
Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum . . . .
Mitte manum tuam et cognosce loca clavorum. All. Et noli . . . .
Misi digitos meos in fixuram clavorum . . . . (q').
Victimae paschali . . . . (t).
Currebant autem . . . . (q).
Cernitis, o socii . . . . (p).

In the Haller Passion[377] there is an Easter morning scene, opened with Heu nobis internas mentes . . . . (j). In the Brixener Passion[378] there is a Visitatio with Jesu nostra redemptio (i), and an Incredulity, which closes with Victimae paschali (t). In the Nachspiel aus der Pfarrkircher Passion there is a Peregrini.

In all these cases, the liturgical basis is so apparent, since the liturgical play speeches either serve as stage directions and cues, or they furnish, in translation, the framework of the plot.

English Easter Plays

In the English plays, the dependence upon the liturgy and the liturgical plays is far less marked, and yet, the liturgical element is present even here and may be found without effort. In the Chester cycle, the Resurrection is based, to a great extent, upon the liturgical model.

Tunc cantabunt duo angeli Christus resurgens a mortuis, et Christus tunc resurget.

After the soldiers make their report to Pilate . . . . venient mulieres plorantes ac Jesum quaerentes:

Alas! now lorne is my likinge . . . .
Alas! wayle awaie is wente . . . .
Alas! nowe marred is all my mighte . . . . (j)
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

[377] Wackernell, 277.
[378] Wackernell, 353.

Sister, which of us everye one
Shall remove this grate stonne . . . . (m).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Primus Angellus: What seeke you, women, here
With wepinge and unlikinge cheare?
Jesus, that to you was deare,
Is risen, leeve you me. (n).
Secundus Angellus: Be not afrayde of us in feare,
For he is wente, withouten were,
As he before cane you lere,
Fourth into Gallalye. (s).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Peter and John . . . . ambo simul concurrent . . . . (q).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Primus Angellus: Woman, why wepeste thou soe, aye?
Maria Magdalene: Sonne, for my Lorde is taken awaie . . . . (u).

In the Pilgrims of Emmaus the following speeches show the liturgical origin.

Jesus: Good men, if your will were,
Tell me in good mannere
Of your talkinge that in feare,
And of your woe witte I woulde. (c′).
Cleophas: A! syr, it seemes to us heare,
A pylgrem thou arte, as doth appeare; . . . . (c′).
Jesus: What are those? tell me, I thee praye.
Lucas: Of Jesus of Nazareth, in good faye . . . . (c′).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Jesus: Ah, fooles and feible, in good faye,
Late to beleeve unto Godes lawe . . . . (d′)
Lucas: Sir, you shal in all mannere
Dwell with us at our suppere;
For nowe nighte approcheth nere,
Tarye here for anye thinge . . . . (e′).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Lucas: A borning harte in us he made . . . . (f′).

At Jerusalem

Andreas: . . . . That he is risen that deade was,
And to Petter appeared hase.
This daye appeartlye. (i′).
Jesus: Peace amonge you, brethren fayer!
My feete, my handes you maye see . . . . (j′).

Incredulity of Thomas

Jesus: Peace, my brethren, on and all,
Come heither Thomas; to thee I call: (q′).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
And see my handes and my feete . . . .
Thomas: My God! my Lorde! (q′).

In the Ascension, the liturgical element is again very prominent:

Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere . . . . (j').
Spiritus quidem carnem et ossa non habet . . . .

There follows a speech of Jesus whose contents agree with that of the Responsoria immediately preceding Ascension and from Ascension to Pentecost, inclusive.

Jesus: Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum. Alleluja. (g'').
Primus angelus: Quis est iste qui venit de Edom . . . . (k').
Minor angelus: Iste formosus in stola sua . . . . (k').
Jesus: Ego qui loquor justitiam . . . .
Chorus: Et vestimenta tua sicut calcantis . . . .
Jesus: Torcalar calcavi solus . . . .
Compare above, the Orleans Emmaus play.
Quartus angellus: You men that be of Gallalye,
Therupon nowe marvayll ye . . . . (a'').

In the Emission of the Holy Ghost, we have the following cues and liturgical tags:

Johannes quidem baptizavit aqua, vos autem . . . .
Non est vestrum nosse tempora . . . .
Accipietis virtutem supervenientis . . . .
Hymn: Veni creator spiritus . . . . } (d'' and e'').
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Tunc Deus emittit spiritum in specie ignis, et in mittendo cantent duo angeli antiphonam, Accipite spiritum sanctum, quorum remiseritis . . . . (k'').

In spite of the fact that this play is built up in such an independent manner, such tags as the last one, which are chronologically wrong according to the sequence of the Gospel story, but occur in the liturgy for Pentecost, show the persistence of the liturgical element.

In the Ludus Coventriae, the liturgical evidence is not quite so strong, but can still be recognized. In the Three Maries, the Quem quaeritis question is lacking, but the angel says to them after the Lament:

Wendyth fforthe, 3e women thre,
Into the strete of Galyle;
3our Savyour ther xul 3e se . . . . (o).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Hic currunt Johannes et Petrus simul . . . . (q).

In Christ Appearing to Mary there is a Lament:

ffor hertyly sorwe myn herte dothe breke . . . . (p),

whereupon the angelus asks her:

Woman, that standyst here alone,
Why dost thou wepe, and morne, and wepe so sore? . . . . (u).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Jhesus: Maria. *Mary M:* A! mayster and Lorde to the I crave . . . . (u).

In the Pilgrims of Emaus there is a Peregrini and an Incredulity, with the speeches of the liturgical plays in their order, not in the sequence of the Gospel story. In the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost no liturgical influence is openly apparent. The plays are short and were probably composed roughly after the Gospel account.

In the Towneley Mysteries, the liturgical influence is very pronounced. In the Resurrexio Domini we find the following:

Tunc cantabunt angeli Christus resurgens.

Lament of the Three Maries

Alas! to dy with doyll am I dight . . . .
Alas! that I shuld se hys pyne . . . .
Alas! how stand I on my fete . . . . (j).
Primus angelus: Ye mowrnyng women in youre thoght,
here in this place whome haue ye soght? (n).
Mary Magdalene: Jhesu that vnto ded was broght . . . . (n).
Secundus angelus: Certys, women, here is he noght,
Come nere and se . . . . (n).
Primus angelus: he is not here, the sothe to say,
The place is voyde ther in he lay;
The sudary here se ye may
was on hym layde;
he is risen and gone his way,
as he you sayde.
Secundus angelus: . . . .
he shalbe fon in galale . . . . (o).

Lament of Mary Magdalene

Jhesus: Woman, why wepys thou? be styll!
Whome sekys thou? say me thy wyll! (u).

In the Peregrini, structure and speeches agree closely with the liturgical plays:

Jhesus: what wordes ar you two emange,
That ye here so sadly gang? (c′).
Cleophas: . . . . Thou art a man by the alone . . . .
Lucas: Art thou a pilgreme thi self alone . . . .
And wote not what is commen and gone,
within few days?
Lucas: yes for jhesu of nazarene,
That was a prophete true and clene . . . . (c′).
Jhesus: ye foyles, ye ar not stabyll!
where is youre witt, I say? (d′)
Lucas: Dwell with us, sir, if ye myght,
ffor now it waxes to the nyght . . . . (e′).

In the Thomas of Indie the following incidents occur:

Mary Magdalene relates story of the resurrection.
Peter's lament over his denial.

Appearance of Jesus on Easter evening.
Incredulity of Thomas . . . . putt thi hande in my syde. (q').

In the Ascensio Domini, responses and antiphons from the liturgy of the Easter season and Ascension are freely used in the speeches:

If ye luf me, for-thi ye shuld be glad of this doyng,
ffor I go full securly to my fader, heuyns kyng . . . . (d'').
The which without lesyng is mekill more than I . . . .
philippus: lord if it be thi will,
shew vs thi fader, we the pray . . . .
Ihesus: philipp, that man that may se me
he seys my fader full of myght. (n'').
& sic ascendit, cantantibus angelis Ascendo ad Patrem . . . . (g'').
primus angelus: Ye men of galylee,
wherfor meruell ye? . . . . (a'').

The York cycle agrees in part with the Towneley. Of the relation of the Shrewsbury Resurrection Office to the York and Towneley plays, Professor Manly says: "The character of the York play on the appearance of Christ to Magdalene suggests that it was once connected with a play very similar to this, especially when the nature of the corresponding Towneley play is considered."[379]

In the Resurrection, there is the traditional form:

Lament of the Three Maries

Alas, to dede I wolde be dight . . . .
Alas, þat I schulde se his pyne . . . .
Alas, who schall my balis bete . . . . (j).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
And who schall now here of vs three remove þe stone? (m).
Ang: 3e mournand women in youre þough,
Here in þis place whome haue 3e sought? (n).
i Mar: Jesu, þat to dede is brought, Oure lord so fre. (n).
Ang: Women, certayn here is he noght, come nere and see. (n).
He is noght here, þe soth to saie,
þe place is void þat he in laye,
þe sudary here se 3e may, Was on hym laide.
He is resen and wente his way As he 3ou saide.
He schall be foune in Galile In flesshe and fell,
To his discipilis nowe wende 3e and þus þame tell.

In the Appearance to Mary Magdalene the liturgical influence is also apparent:

The Lament of Mary

Allas, in þis worlde was neuere no wyght . . . . (p).
Jesus: Thou wilfull woman in þis waye,
Why wepis þou soo als þou wolde wede . . . .
Whome sekist þou þis longe daye (u).

[379] *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, xxxi, note.

Maria: Swete sir, yf þou hym bare awaye . . . . (u).
Jesus: Goo awaye, Marie, and touche me noȝt . . . . (u).

In the Travellers to Emmaus we have the following:

Jesus: What are þes meruailes þat ȝe of mene . . . . (c′).
ii Pereg: Why art þou a pilgryme and haste bene
At Jerusalem and haste þou noght sene . . . . (c′).
Jesus: A! fooles, þat are fauty and failes of youre feithe . . . . (d′).
i Pereg: We praye ȝou, sir pilgrime, ȝe presse noȝt to passe . . . . (e′).

In the Incredulity of Thomas, the appearance of Jesus is introduced with the same speech as in the liturgy:

Pees vnto yowe euermore myght be,
Drede you noȝt, for I am hee. (j′).
Thomas: Till þat I see his body bare
And sithen my fyngir putte in thare within his hyde . . . . (o′).
Jesus: Putte forthe thy fingir to me nowe . . . . (o′).
Thomas: Mi lorde, my god, full wele is me . . . . (o′).

In the Ascension, the antiphons of the season show liturgical basis:

Jesus prays John 17.
To my Fadir now yppe I wende,
And your Fadir þat me doune sente. (g″).
But for I speke þes wordis nowe
To you, youre hartis has heuynes . . . .
And butte I wende, comes noght to yowe
þe comfortoure of comfortelles . . . . (d″).
i Ang: ȝe men of the land of Galile
What wondit ȝe to heuene lokand? (a″).

The same is true of the Descent of the Holy Spirti. And here a good many of the tags are even in Latin:

Cum venerit paraclitus Docebit vos omnia.
Nisi ego abiero . . . . þe holy goste schall not be sene. (d″).
Et dum assumptus fuero,
þanne schall I send ȝou comforte clene.
Hymn: Veni Creator spiritus . . . .
Tristicia impleuit cor vestrum,
Sed conuertetur in gaudium . . . .
Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit dominus,
effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem. (i″).

In the Digby Mystery of the Resurrection, the Easter morning scene is complete according to the liturgical form:

Lament of the Three Maries (j)

Angelle: Whom seke ye, women sanctifiede? (n).
Three Maryes: Jhesus of Nazareth crucified . . . . (n).
Angelle: He is risen, he is not here; (n)
To his discipules he shalle apere,
In Galilee they shalle hym fynd!
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

Mulier quid ploras? Woman why wepis þou soo? (u).
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

Peter's Lament over his denial

Mulier, quid ploras? Quem quaeris? (u).
Woman, why wepis thou? whom sekes thou thus? (u).
Maria: Rabboni!
Noli me tangere . . . . (u).
Tunc hae tres cantant id est Victime paschali totum . . . . (t).
Tunc ibit praecurrens Johannes dicit . . . . (q).
Tunc cantant omnes, scilicet, Scimus Christum (t) vel aliam sequentiam aut ympnum de Resurrectione . . . .

Even in the Cornish Resurrexio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, the evidence of liturgical influence is not lacking:

The Resurrection

Cantant angeli: Christus resurgens . . . .

The Three Maries

I know whom ye seek . . . .

Mary Magdalene

Noli me tangere . . . . (u).

Incredulity of Thomas
Disciples of Emmaus

What is your grief that you are sad?
Tu peregrinus es . . . .
Ye are foolish and dupes . . . . (d').
Stay with us, o dear companion, (e')
For it is almost dark and late . . . .
Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat . . . . (f')

Ascension of Christ

Jes: In comfort to you I will leave the Holy Ghost. (e'').
Phil: Dear Lord through thy great grace Disclose to us the Father . . . .
Jes: Whoever hath seen me, Surely he should see my Father . . . .
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
First Angel: Who is that with god head good, Who hath come so swiftly to heaven, Clothed in red?
Third Angel: Who is it that came from the earth in red. Like blood his head and shoulders? (k')
Fourth Angel: He from Edom hath come . . . . (k').
Fifth Angel: Who canst thou be, when thy clothing is so red . . .
Eighth Angel: Why are thy garments red . . . . (k').

A summary of conclusions for the entire Resurrection series, including the Ascension and Pentecost plays, yields the following:

The origin and development of the various parts is:

Visitatio, from liturgy to trope, to liturgical play
Hortulanus, from service to play
Planctus (*Cf.* the chapter on the Planctus)
Apostle scene, from service to incident in play
Peregrini, from service to play
Appearance in Evening, from service to incident in play
Incredulity of Thomas, from service to play or incident
Ascension, from service to play
Pentecost, from service to play

The Visitatio, the Hortulanus, the Peregrini, and the Incredulity of Thomas alone appear in the transition stage; in the formation of cycles the simpler forms of the play were used, those showing liturgical influence strongest. There were vernacular Ascension plays, but these were probably ignored in the building up of cycles, the liturgical structure being followed in the plot, as is also the case in the Pentecost play.

The liturgical element persisted in most cases in the vernacular plays and cycles, even to the extent of retaining Latin tags.

THE MARY PLAYS

The Barrenness of Anna, Mary's Presentation, Mary's Betrothment, Death of Mary, Appearance to Thomas, Assumption (and Coronation)

List of Texts Examined

The Mary incident in the Incredulity play of the *Fragmenta burana.*
Ludus Coventriae, VIII, IX, X, XLI.
York Plays, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.

It may be a matter of conjecture with a strong tinge of probability that there was at one time "a very elaborate Virgin play which must undoubtedly be ecclesiastical in origin," as Miss Swenson states,[380] if the plays in question are investigated merely from the standpoint of meter and structure; but the conjecture becomes almost a certainty, when the question of the liturgical element in the Mary plays is considered. The Salutation, the Visitation, and the Purification have been discussed above, in the Christmas series. And leaving out of account, for the present, the question whether the original Virgin play was a single unit play or a series of incidents from the life of Mary more or less loosely connected, we turn to the question whether the scenes were ecclesiastical or liturgical in origin.

The festivals of Mary which come into consideration here are the following:

The festival of St. Anne, the mother of Mary, on July 26, celebrated since the thirteenth century;

The festival of the nativity of Mary (Festum nativitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis), on September 8, celebrated since the middle of the seventh century, fixed as a great festival with octave by the Council of Lyon (1245);

The festival of the presentation of Mary (Festum praesentationis B. M. V.), on November 21, celebrated in the Orient since the eighth century, 1372 at Avignon (Philip of Maizieres), 1464 in Saxony, since 1585 a general festival

The festival of the betrothal of Mary (Festum desponsationis B. M. V. cum S. Josepho), on January 23, celebrated quite generally since 1546, although known before.

The festival of the conception of Mary (Festum conceptionis B. M. V.), on December 8, celebrated since 1070 in England (Anselm of Canterbury), since fourteenth century quite general.

The festival of the assumption of Mary (Festum dormitionis et assumptionis Mariae), on August 15, celebrated since eleventh century, with octave.[381]

[380] *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae*, 35.

[381] *Cf.* Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 59-74.

The liturgy for these festivals is, in general, very elaborate, as the following extracts from the Sarum Breviary will show. On the festival Annae Matris Mariae the antiphons, in rhymed form, as well as the lectiones, give the full apocryphal account of Joachim and Anna.

Ant: Pater praecelsae virginis,
Joachim erat nomine,
mater Anna quae nobilis
regali fulsit semine.

Ant: Annos quoque plurimos
ducunt in conjugio
steriles atque tristes
sub legis opprobrio.

Ant: Exprobrat hunc pontifex
Joachim quod sisteret
infecundus cum fecundis
seque eis jungeret.

Ant: Joachim ex opprobrio
e templo tristis exiit,
nec ad domum vel uxorem,
sed ad pastores transiit.

Ant: Joachim et conjugi
angelus apparuit,
dolentesque nimium
dulciter compescuit.

Ant: Preces vestrae sunt acceptae,
habebitisque filiam,
per quam Deus magnifice
praestabit cunctis gratiam.

Lectio V: Vivebant itaque ambo socialiter, et erant in conjugio legaliter in urbe Galilaea Nazareth nomine: unde oriundus Joachim pater erat, mater tamen Anna Bethleemita ortu fuerat. Et quoniam justi coram Deo et hominibus erant: templo Dei et peregrinis indigentibus duas portiones suarum facultatum tribuebant, reservata in suos usus tertia, unde temporaliter vivebant. Verum permanente utroque sterili per annos circiter viginti, templum Dei diebus certis frequentabant, ut dignum Deo fructum carnis suae, hoc est, filium vel filiam mererentur accipere: factoque voto quod obsequio divino manciparent quantancunque sobolem divino dono generarent. Post haec Joachim, audito improperio a pontifice Ysachar sibi facto, videlicet quod esset infecundus, nullusque de eo genitalis esset in Israel fructus, mox tristis confususque abiit, nec domum vel uxorem, sed pastores suos adiit. At divina pietas consolans eius angustias: angelico aspectu simul et affatu promisit ei virginem praecipuam de se fore nasciturum. Denique ut dignitas mirabilis significaretur evangelizatae sobolis, claritas etiam mirabilis comitata est angelum lucis: vel idcirco cum luce ingenti Joachim patri angelus apparuit, quia lumen mundi processurum de luce, id est, de nascitura virgine declaravit . . . .

Lectio V: Nascitur ergo de legitimo et valde sancto conjugio sanctissima virgo . . . .

In the service text In Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis, the liturgy treats almost exclusively of the nativity and genealogy of Mary. The

stirps Jesse and the radix Jesse are not only referred to, but discussed at length, the lectiones including a homily of the Venerable Bede on Matt. 1:1-16. There are also many antiphons from the Song of Solomon.

Ant: Ibo michi ad montem myrrhae et ad colles libani, et loquar sponsae meae, tota speciosa es proxima mea et macula non est in te: veni a Libano sponsa, veni a Libano, veni, venies et transibis . . . .
Ant: Quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis, statura tua . . . . . .

The offices In Praesentatione Beatae Mariae Virginis and Desponsationis B. M. V. are not included in the Sarum Breviary. The apocryphal account was, however, known very well in the Church and included in many service books, as the account of Gueranger shows.

The liturgy In Festo Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis is again very extensive and comprehensive. The antiphons, for the greater part, are again taken from the Song of Solomon.

Ant: Tota pulchra es, amica mea . . . .
Ant: Anima mea liquefacta es . . . .
Ant: Qualis est dilectus tuus . . . .
Vs: Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi . . .
R: Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in Libano . . . .
Ant: Assumpta est Maria in coelum . . . .

And the lectiones tell the story of the Transitus Mariae in full. The principal ones are taken from Jerome's "Epistola ad Paulum et Eustochium" (Col. 687 ff.) and contain accounts of the service which John the Apostle rendered to Mary, of the assembly of the apostles with Mary, of her assumption, and of the splendor of her heavenly state.

The Mary Plays

If we now compare the Mary plays with this material from the liturgy, the presence of the liturgical element is almost always discernible, while in some cases it becomes prominent. There is a little incident added to the Incredulity play printed by W. Meyer,[382] which is significant in this connection.

Hoc finito producatur mater domini; cum eo duo angeli portantes sceptra et cum ea Maria Jacobi et Maria Salome:
Egredimini, filie Syon, regem Salomonem in dyademate . . . .
Vox turturis audita est in . . . .
Respondet *Maria:* Veniat dilectus . . . . *Dominus:* Commedi . . . . *Mar:* Talis est dilectus . . . . *Dominus:* Tota pulcra . . . .

The passage is very much like the most favorite passages from the Song of Solomon, used on the Mary festivals, and shows that the Mary incidents were very early connected with the liturgical praises of Mary.

[382] *Fragmenta burana*, 136.

In a poem Marien Himmelfahrt, fifteenth century,[383] the following liturgical tags appear:

Ave spes mundi Maria . . . . Hymn.
Tota pulcra es, amica mea . . . . Ant. in assumptione B. M. V.
Recordare virgo mater . . . .
Regina coeli laetare . . . . Ant. Hymn.
Benedictus venter tuus in quo Christum portasti. Cap.
Gaude, Maria, in te verbum caro factum est . . . . Ant. Cap.
Ave, praeclara maris stella . . . . Hymn.

Creizenach[384] mentions the following Mary plays:

Presentation of Mary, page 169, note 3;
Provençal play of the marriage of Mary and the birth of Jesus, page 152;
Toulon play, including childhood of Mary, her betrothal, birth of Jesus, three kings, and slaughter, page 152;
French mystery of the assumption, page 206;
Innsbruck play of the assumption and the destruction of Jerusalem, page 236;
Lowdutch play of the joys of Mary, page 344;
Spanish play of the assumption, page 352, note 1.

In the English field, the Coventry cycle has four Mary plays, the York cycle only three. In the Coventry Barrenness of Anna several very evident liturgical tags appear:

There they xal synge this sequens 'Benedicta sit beata Trinitas' . . . .
This sequence has various forms and was used frequently, although it is primarily a sequence for the festival of the Trinity. It should be noted also that a part of the Trinity service was used on the festival of Anna, the mother of Mary.
Adjutorium nostrum in nomine . . . .
Qui fecit coelum et terram . . . .
Sit nomen Domini benedictum . . . .
Ex hoc nunc et usque . . . .
Benedicat vos divina . . . .
Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.
This series of antiphons and versicles is used often, especially on festival days.
Exultet coelum laudibus . . . . Hymn.

It has been noted above that the story of the play is carried in the lectiones for St. Anne's Day, all of the principal characters: Anna, Joachim, Ysachar, pastores, and angelus being included, and the sequence of incidents identical.

In the Coventry play of Mary in the Temple, the psalms recited by Mary while ascending the temple steps are the Psalmi graduum (Ps. 109-133):

Ad dominum cum tribularer . . . .
Levavi oculos meos in montes . . . .
Laetatus sum in hiis . . . .

[383] Printed by H. v. Fallersleben, *Germania*, 15:369.
[384] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas.*

Ad te levavi oculos meos . . . .
Nisi quia Dominus erat in nobis . . . .
Qui confidunt in Domino . . . .
In convertendo dominus captivitatem . . . .
Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum . . . .
Beati omnes qui timent Dominum . . . .
Saepe expugnaverunt me . . . .
De profundis clamavi . . . .
Domine, non exaltatum . . . .
Memento, Domine, David . . . .
Ecce, quam bonum . . . .
Ecce nunc, benedicite Dominum . . . .

There was a "Hymnus de XV Psalmis graduum" as early as the ninth century,[385] with which the verses of Mary seem to agree quite closely. And since we have, in addition to this, the hymn Jhesu corona virginum, which was used on Mary and Virgin festivals, it seems quite likely that the Festum Presentationis Mariae had its influence also in England.

In the Coventry play of Mary's Betrothment, the liturgical tags are in the stage directions only:

Veni creator . . . Hymn.
Benedicta sit beata Trinitas . . . . Sequence.
Benedixisti Domine, terram tuam (in text) . . . . Ant.

But if we consider the fact that the Festum Desponsationis may have influenced also the English services at this time, and that the generations of David which are introduced are apparently based upon the genealogy lectiones, which are so prominent in the offices for the Mary days, the liturgical influence seems very prominent, also in this play.

In the Coventry play of the Assumption of the Virgin, the principal events that are mentioned in the antiphons of the festival and spoken of at length in the lectiones, are found as the structure of the play. The liturgical element in general is very strongly in evidence.

Veni tu, electa mea, et ponam . . . .
Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.
Paratum cor meum . . . .
Haec est quae nescivit thorum . . . .
Beatam me dicent omnes . . . .
Veni de Libano, sponsa mea . . . .
Ecce, venio . . . .

Most of these speeches are antiphons from the festival of the Assumption, as noted above.

Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto . . . . Ant.
Exiit Israel de Egipto, domus Jacob de populo barbaro. Allelujah!
Facta Judea sanctificatio eius, Israel potestas eius, Allelujah!
Assumpta est Maria in coelum . . . . Ant.

[385] Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 393.

In the York play of the Death of Mary the sequence of incidents is the same as in the liturgy for the festival of the Assumption, and there is one liturgical tag, the antiphon Ave regina coelorum at the end of the play. The antiphon Ave regina caelorum, Ave domina angelorum is used both during the octave of the Nativity and during that of the Assumption of Mary.

In the York play of the Appearance of Our Lady to Thomas, there is both liturgical text and music.

> Surge, proxima mea, columba mea . . . .
> Veni de Libano, sponsa mea . . . .
> Veni electa mea . . . . Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam . . . .

These antiphons were very well known from the Mary festivals and virgin days, when they were continually used. Miss Smith has an extensive note on this addition to the play.[386] Her remarks confirm the contention as to the persistence of the liturgical influence, even after the ecclesiastical plays had been withdrawn from the church.

In the York play of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin, liturgical influence appears in the enumeration of the joys of Mary: the conception of Jesus, his birth, the resurrection, the ascension, her own assumption. In the liturgy, the number of joys is given either in a series of five or of seven. The exact sequence varies in different breviaries.[387] Rock[388] quotes from a Liber Festivalis of Rouen, naming the joys as they are found in this play:

> The fyrste whan she conseyved of the holy ghoost . . . ,
> The ii was . . . . whan she was delyvered of her sone . . . .
> The iii joye was on ester day whan her sone rose from dethe to lyfe . . . .
> The iiii joye when he styed up to heven . . . .
> The fyfthe joye was in her assumption . . . .

The entire story, including the Coronation, is found in the liturgy.[389]

With so much material at hand, the following conclusions are possibly not too daring: The original Mary plays grew up on the festivals, especially on the festival of Anna, the mother of Mary, (the Purification), and the Assumption. Even with the addition of extra-liturgical material the liturgical element retained its prominence, in structure as well as in speeches, cues, and other tags. The individual plays, either by the joining of two or more, or by the expansion of a single one, sometimes grew into Mary cycles, either one of her entire life, or two, in which the early part of her life and the events connected with her marriage were taken together, and similarly those of the end of her life—her death, assumption, and coronation.

[386] *York Plays*, 524.
[387] Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 70, 419.
[388] Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, 3:236.
[389] Alt, 420.

CONCLUSION

That the liturgical element, both as to basis and episodal structure, was predominant in the earliest forms of the medieval drama is, I think, sufficiently demonstrated in the body of this dissertation. The discussion would, however, hardly be considered complete and conclusive unless I also brought forward the probable reason for this peculiarity and thus added a brief chapter on the psychology of the medieval dramaturgical method, cycle construction, and the interrelation of cycle plays.

One of the facts which stands out very prominently in this study is the importance of the tropes, a fact which has, however, been recognized quite fully and discussed at length by Gautier,[390] by Professor Young,[391] and others. The fact upon which the most emphasis is laid in this paper, however, is this,—that the responses, antiphons, and versicles have had an influence upon the early drama to a far greater extent than has been recognized till now. The contention, stated in the introduction, in regard to the liturgical basis and plot construction outlined by the antiphonal tags, is, I think, borne out by the material presented here.

The second fact which establishes the correctness of the theory as stated in the thesis is the evident cyclical idea as expressed in the liturgy and carried out in the service arrangement. The Advent season treats of the coming of Christ in the flesh, in the spirit, and to judgment. And the eschatological subjects are given especial prominence. The Advent season merges into Christmastide, and the story of the Annunciation and Visitation, as well as the various prophetic utterances which reach their culmination in the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Judaeos" lead up to the Christmas story itself. Christmastide proper embraces everything from the Vigil of the Nativity to the festival of Epiphany, and includes the Shepherds and the Nativity, the story of the Innocents, the Slaughter, the Lament of Rachel, the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, and also Christ and the Doctors. The last Sundays of Epiphany are somewhat disjoined and are also repeated at the end of the Pentecost or Trinity season. Therefore their influence is negligible. The Septuagesima cycle introduces the Old Testament subjects. It reaches beyond Quinquagesima and overlaps the Ministry cycle, which begins either with the Baptism or the Temptation, and includes the most prominent events in the ministry. The Holy Week has the Passion proper, beginning with the Entry into Jerusalem and ending with the Burial. The liturgy of the Great Sabbath looks back to the

[390] *Les Tropes.*

[391] *Officium Pastorum: The Origin of the Easter Play.*

Passion cycle, but serves as preparation for the Easter season. It therefore contains service material which later on proved a connecting link between the two stories. Eastertide was closely linked to Ascension and Pentecost, even by the liturgical colors, much more by the sequence of responses. The Trinity season has no special outstanding feature. The Mary festivals form no cycle, but their antiphons and responses have, to a great extent, the same basis. The suggestion for cycle building is certainly there. The very position of the Purification play in the cycle shows that it was transferred from elsewhere and only the approximate position in the historical narrative chosen. Slight variations of this cycle rule with their reasons have been discussed in the respective chapters.

It may be of interest, finally, to show in tabular form how much liturgical influence may be claimed for the various plays:

Creation, liturgical subject-matter, tags
Fall of Lucifer, liturgical suggestion and material from lectiones
Creation of Man, liturgical subject matter
Fall of Man, liturgical subject matter
Cain and Abel, liturgical subject matter, liturgical tags
Noah and the Flood, liturgical subject matter and tags
Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, liturgical subject matter
(Joseph and His Brethren, liturgical play based on liturgy)
Moses and the Exodus, Pharao, liturgical subject matter

It is not at all unlikely that there were both single plays and perhaps also cycles of this series, even in Latin, which were based entirely upon the liturgy and even played on the respective Sundays or during the week, when the lessons were read. They served to bring out the need of redemption and to present the principal prototypes of Christ in his ministry and passion.

Prophetae, based on liturgy, structure and subject-matter, in earliest and expanded form
Coventry prophets, based on Radix Jesse liturgy
Annunciation and visitation, liturgical structure and subject-matter
Barrenness of Anna and Mary's presentation, based on liturgy
Mary's betrothment, liturgical suggestion
Joseph's trouble, liturgical suggestion, both Gospel readings and lectiones
Birth and shepherds, liturgical structure and subject-matter
The Magi, liturgical structure and subject-matter
Slaughter and flight into Egypt, liturgical basis and special antiphonal tags
Christ and the doctors, liturgical basis

There can be no doubt that the greater number of plays of the Christmas series, in their simplest form, were taken directly from the liturgy and even expanded with subject-matter from the liturgy. The Purification play has been discussed in its chapter.

Baptism of Christ
John the Baptist

Temptation
Transfiguration
Woman in adultery
Lazarus
Blind man at Jericho

These and other plays of the Ministry series contain enough evidence to make it probable that their episodal structure was copied from the liturgy, and in some cases even their entire subject-matter. That the special suggestion and choice of just these subjects in just this cyclical order came from the liturgy, has been shown above.

Entry into Jerusalem, based on liturgy
Conspiracy, liturgical suggestion in all cases, in most cases also liturgical subject-matter
The last supper, liturgical basis, structure and subject-matter
Agony and betrayal, liturgical basis, antiphonal structure
Trial before Caiaphas, liturgical basis
Trial before Pilate, antiphonal structure, subject-matter largely from lectiones
Dream of Pilate's wife, liturgical suggestion(?)
Condemnation and crucifixion, liturgical basis and subject-matter
Death and burial, liturgical basis, antiphonal tags

The evidence in regard to these Passion plays shows quite definitely that the simplest forms of the plays, either in the Latin or in the early transitional stage, were based directly upon the liturgy, and wherever additions were made, the principal suggestions came from liturgical sources.

Harrowing of Hell, based on liturgical structure, antiphonal tags
Resurrection morning, liturgical basis, structure, subject-matter
Appearance to Mary Magdalene, liturgical structure, and subject-matter
Travellers to Emmaus, antiphonal structure, and liturgical subject-matter
Incredulity of Thomas, liturgical outline in antiphons, lectiones
Ascension, liturgical subject-matter, antiphonal tags
Pentecost, liturgical subject-matter, structure, and tags

The plays of this group, with very few exceptions, were originally taken from the liturgy, in many cases retaining their tags, even in the cycles.

Death of Mary and assumption, based on liturgy

The Mary plays present sufficient evidence to connect them quite definitely with the liturgy. There would even be some probability of their having had a Latin original.

Ezechiel and Fifteen Signs of Doom, liturgical suggestion and subject-matter
Antichrist, liturgical subject-matter, lectiones
Doomsday, liturgical structure and subject-matter, antiphonal tags

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Bruchstücke aus dem alten Passional. Beyer, 14:229.
Karsamstagsprozession in Ruswil. Brandstetter, 18:459.
Bruchstücke einer Marienklage. Sievers, 21:395.
Das Spiel vom Jüngsten Gericht. Jellinghaus, 23:426.
Zum Redentiner Osterspiel. Sprenger, 27:301.

I. THE DIVISIONS OF THE LITURGICAL YEAR

Advent Season First to Fourth Sundays, inclusive	*Christmas* Ferial Services of Fourth Advent to December 27, inclusive	*Festum Infantum* and *Epiphany* December 28 January 6 and Octave	*Septuagesima* to *III Quadrages*	*Lent* *Quinquagesima* to *Palmarum*	*Holy Week*	*Easter Season* including Ascension and Pentecost	*Mary Festivals* Purification, February 2 St. Anne's Day, July 26 Assumption and others

II. LATIN LITURGICAL PLAYS (LITURGICAL AND HOMILETIC INFLUENCE DIRECT OR PRIMARY, BY TROPES, ANTIPHONS, RESPONSES, AND LECTIONES)

Sponsus, xi c. *Antichristus*, xii c.	*Annunciation and Visitation*, xv c. *Prophetae*, xi c *Officium Pastorum*, xi c	*Ordo Rachel*, xi c. *Officium Stellae* (Magi), xi c.	*Ordo Joseph*, xiii c.		*Ludus de Passione*, including Planctus *Depositio Crucis*, xiv c. *Descensus*, xiv c.	(*Elevatio Crucis*, including Planctus), xiv c. *Officium Sepulcri*, ix c., including Hortulanus *Peregrini*, xi c., including Appearances, etc.

III. SEMI-SECULAR AND VERNACULAR PLAYS (LITURGICAL OR HOMILETIC INFLUENCE SECONDARY)

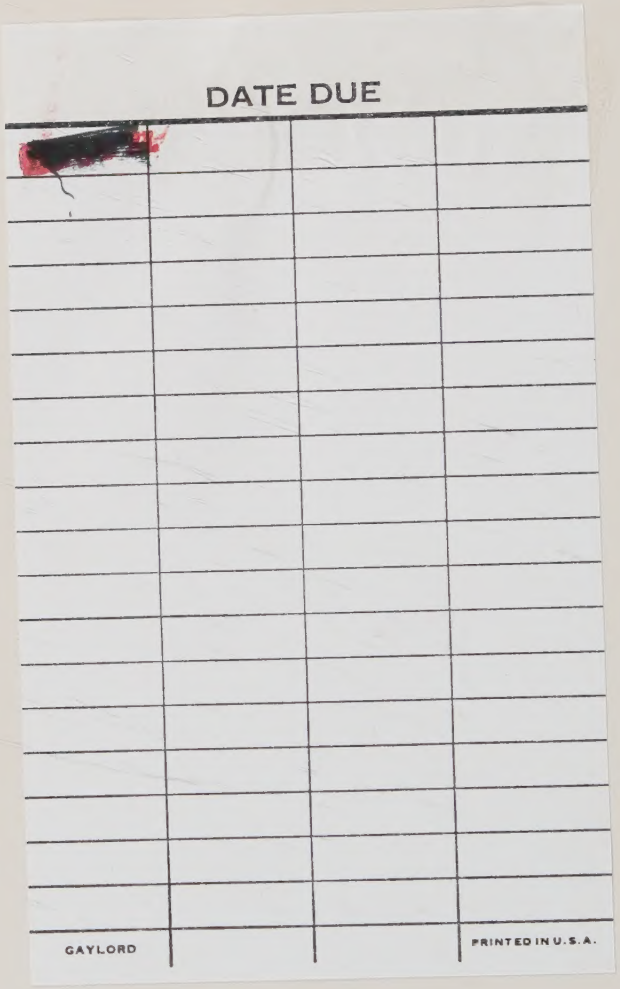
Ten Virgin Play Antichrist Play (Fifteen Signs of Doom and) Doomsday	Prophet Plays (Radix Jesse Pl.) Nativity and Adoration of Shepherds	Herod and Magi Plays Slaughter of the Innocents and Flight into Egypt Christ and Doctors	*Old Testament Plays* Creation (Fall of Lucifer) Temptation and Fall Cain and Abel Noah and the Flood Abraham, Isaac Jacob, Joseph Moses and Children of Israel Saul, David Solomon	*Ministry Plays* John Baptist Baptism of Jesus Temptation Calling of Disc. Healing of Blind Woman in Adultery (Mary Magdalene) Raising of Lazarus	Benediktbeuern Passio Entry into Jerusalem Last Supper Agony and Betrayal Trial before Caiaphas Denial of Peter Trial before Pilate End of Judas Crucifixion and Planctus Death and Burial	*Resurrection Plays* Harrowing of Hell Three Maries Pilgrims to Emmaus Incredulity Ascension Pentecost	*Purification* Barrenness of Anna Mary's Presentation Betrothment Death Assumption and Coronation

IV. CONNECTED SERIES OR CYCLES OF PLAYS {Corpus Christi and Whitsun Plays, Passion Plays, Osterspiele, Frohnleichnamsspiele, etc., still showing the liturgical element.}

English: York Corpus Christi Plays; Towneley Mysteries; Chester Whitsun Plays; Ludus Coventriae; Cornish Plays.
German: Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel; Egerer Frlnspiel; Mastricht, Alsfeld, Erlauer,—Wiener, Frankfurter, Tiroler, Haller, etc.
French: Mistére d'Adam; Mistére du Viel Testament; Provençal Mysteries.

V. MIRACLE PLAYS (MORALITIES AND INTERLUDES) (Plays composed after the analogy of mysteries or under their influence)

Mary Magdalen Plays; Conversion of St. Paul; St. Nicholas; St. Catherine; and other Saint Plays.
Plays of virtues and vices, etc.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